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READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

VOLUME II

READINGS IN

EUROPEAN HISTORY

A collection of extracts from the sources, chosen with the purpose of illustrating the progress of culture in Western Europe since the German Invasions

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

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VOLUME II

FROM THE OPENING OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT TO THE PRESENT DAY

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PREFACE

In its spirit and arrangement this second volume is like the first. Its contents, however, are drawn from resources far more abundant than those which were available for the earlier period. With the opening of the sixteenth century the historical material expands in a most surprising manner. Indeed, one is sometimes tempted to think that the mass of sources of all kinds for the times of Luther, Charles V, Francis I, and Henry VIII equals in bulk all that we have for the history of the western world before their day. Moreover, men begin to write of their own age with a clearness and cogency and a wealth of intimate detail which we miss in what comes down to us from the earlier centuries. The difficulty is no longer to find apt and varied illustrations of the conditions and trend of events, but rather to avoid being overwhelmed by those which press in from all sides. I have not therefore had the heart to keep the chapters of this volume within the modest bounds prescribed for those in the first, for I found it much easier to bring to an end a quotation from the *Annals of Xanten* than from the *Memoirs* of Commines. But even if I have devoted forty pages to "Napoleon and Europe," that is not excessive, although there may be but ten on "Charles Martel and Pippin."

I have been greatly aided in the search for appropriate extracts by Dr. Charles A. Beard, Lecturer in History in

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Columbia University, who has generously devoted many hours to this aleatory task. I have also to thank him for preparing several of the bibliographies. I have received suggestions from the various collections of illustrative material which have been published from time to time, especially the *Translations and Reprints* issued from the University of Pennsylvania; the "source books" of Miss Kendall, Professor Colby, and Dr. Lee; Corréard's *Choix de Textes;* and, above all, Schilling's *Quellenbuch.* A number of the translations from the French and German I owe to my wife, who has also given me her constant aid in the revision of the manuscript and the reading of the proof.

J. H. R.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK,
November 3, 1905.

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READINGS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

CHAPTER XXIII

EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I. The Expedition of Charles VIII into Italy

The *Mémoires* of Philip of Commines

There could be no more charming introduction to the history of the sixteenth century than the famous memoirs of Philip of Commines. The French, in modern times, have been distinguished for the skill with which they combine their personal reminiscences with a more or less complete account of the history of their own times, in the form of memoirs, which both delight the casual reader and serve the purposes of the serious historian. Of this attractive but too often unreliable kind of history Commines affords a very early and admirable example. Born in Flanders not later than 1447, the writer first attached himself to the court of Charles the Bold and served him as councilor and ambassador. In 1472, however, he went over to Charles' arch-enemy, Louis XI of France, of whom he has much to say.[1] Six or seven years after the death of Louis, Commines wrote the first six books of his memoirs,

[1] For Commines' estimate of both Charles the Bold and Louis XI, see above, Vol. I, pp. 477 *sq.* and 481 *sqq.*

relating to that king's reign (1464–1483). Under Charles VIII, Commines had ample opportunity, as ambassador to Venice, to observe the manner in which France, Spain, and Germany were beginning to meddle in Italian affairs. Just after Charles' death he added two books to his memoirs, dealing especially with the years 1494 to 1498 and the expedition into Italy.

No one can fail to see in Commines' account, given below, of the attitude of the various Italian states (Milan, Venice, and Florence) toward the intervention of France, that keen insight and sense of humor, combined with a certain youthful freshness and simplicity, which have commended his memoirs for well-nigh four centuries to readers of all European nations.[1]

How Ludovico il Moro sought aid of Charles VIII of France.

An invitation to Charles VIII to try his fortune in Italy came from Milan, where Ludovico, of the house of Sforza, was endeavoring to exclude his nephew, Gian Galeazzo, the rightful heir to the duchy of Milan, from his inheritance. The chief difficulty in Ludovico's way was not Gian himself, but his spirited wife, a Neapolitan princess, who might call in her relatives to support the rights of her inefficient husband.

231. Attitude of the Italian states toward France.

None of the subjects or relations of Gian Galeazzo, duke of Milan, gave the lord Ludovico the least disturbance in his designs upon the duchy except Duke Gian's wife, who was a young lady, and a wise daughter to Alphonso, duke

[1] The *Mémoires* were translated into English in the seventeenth century. A modern and pretty accurate translation based upon a good text is published in the Bohn Library. An admirable edition of the original French, reproduced from a recently discovered manuscript more complete than any hitherto known, has just been published by Mandrot in the *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, 2 vols., 1901–1903; with an excellent introduction on Commines and his work at the opening of Vol. II.

of Calabria (whom I mentioned above), eldest son to Ferrante, king of Naples. In the year 1493 the lord Ludovico began to solicit King Charles VIII, then reigning in France, to undertake an expedition into Italy, to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and to supplant and exterminate those who possessed it; for whilst they were in force and authority Ludovico durst not attempt what he did afterwards; for at that time Ferrante, king of Naples, and Alphonso, his son, were both very rich, of great experience in war, and had the reputation of being very valiant princes, though it afterwards appeared otherwise.[1]

This Ludovico was a wise man, but very timorous and humble where he was in awe of any one, and false and deceitful when it was for his advantage; and this I do not speak by hearsay, but as one that knew him well, and had many transactions with him. But to proceed: In the year 1493 he began to tickle King Charles, who was but twenty-two years of age, with the vanities and glories of Italy, demonstrating (as is reported) the right which he had to the fine kingdom of Naples, which he knew well enough how to blazon and display. . . .

How Charles VIII entered into negotiations with the wily Venetians.

[Now since the heart of our king, though he was very young, was strangely bent upon this enterprise,] he requested the Venetians to give him their assistance and counsel in his expedition, and they returned this answer: That he should be very welcome in Italy, but that they were wholly incapable of assisting him, upon account of their continual apprehensions of the Turk — though at that time they were at peace with him. As for undertaking to advise so wise a king, who had so grave a council, that would savor too much of presumption on their part; nevertheless they would rather assist than disturb him in his designs.

[1] Ferrante was king of Naples only, not of Sicily, which belonged to Ferdinand the Catholic, as part of the possessions of the rulers of Aragon. See *History of Western Europe*, p. 360, note (Vol. II, p. 8, note). Ferrante died just before Charles started on his Italian expedition. He was succeeded by his brutal son, Alphonso, duke of Calabria, who however abdicated in a panic of fear upon the approach of Charles and his army.

Now this they believed a very discreet answer, and truly so it was; and I am of opinion that their affairs are managed with more prudence and discretion at this day than the affairs of any other prince or state in the world; — but God will still have us know that the wisdom and policy of man is of no avail where he pleases to interpose, for he ordered the affair quite otherwise than they were anticipating.

The Venetians' grudge against the house of Aragon (i.e. of Naples).

The Venetians did not imagine that the king would come in person, and (whatever they pretended) they had no apprehension of the Turk; for the Turk [Bajazet II] who then reigned was a man of no courage or activity. But their design was to be revenged upon the house of Aragon, both father and son,[1] for whom they had a mortal hatred, because (as they said) it was at their instigation that the Turk fell upon them at Scutari. I mean the father of this present Turk, called Mahomet Ottoman, who conquered Constantinople, and did abundance of mischief besides to the Venetians. They had several other complaints also against Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and, among the rest, they said that he had been the occasion of the war which the duke of Ferrara had made upon them, which was very expensive, and had liked to have proved their ruin. They complained also that he had sent a man to Venice, expressly to poison their cisterns, at least such as he could come at; for some were kept under lock and key. In that city they use no other water, for they are wholly surrounded by the sea; but that water is very good, and I drank of it eight months together during my first embassy thither (for I have been there once since).

These were not, however, the chief grounds of the Venetian animosity toward the house of Aragon; the real reason was, that the father and son had restrained them, and kept them from extending their conquests in both Italy and Greece — for their eyes were turned in both directions, and, moreover, without any title or excuse, they had lately subdued the kingdom of Cyprus.

[1] Namely, the above-mentioned Ferrante of Naples and his son Alphonso, who belonged to a branch of the reigning house of Aragon.

In view of all these grudges, the Venetians thought it would be highly to their advantage if a war should be begun between our king and the house of Aragon; hoping it would not be brought to a conclusion so soon as it was, and that it would only weaken the power of their enemies and not utterly destroy them; and then, let happen what would, one side or the other would give them towns in Apulia, which borders upon their gulf, in order to have their assistance. And even so it fell out, though they had liked to have been mistaken in their reckoning. Besides, they thought that nobody could accuse them of inviting our king into Italy, since they had neither given him counsel nor assistance, as appeared to the world by their answer above.

Characteristic attitude of an Italian state toward a foreign invader.

In the year 1493 the king advanced to Lyons, to examine into his affairs; but nobody ever imagined he would have passed the mountains himself. . . .

[Nevertheless] the king, on the 23d of August, 1494, set out from Vienne, and marched straight toward Asti. At Susa, the lord Galeazzo di St. Severino came post to meet his Majesty, who advanced from thence to Turin, where he borrowed the jewels of Madame of Savoy, daughter to the late William, marquis of Montferrat, and widow to Charles, duke of Savoy. Having pawned them for twelve thousand ducats, he removed a few days after to Casale, the residence of the marchioness of Montferrat, a young and prudent lady, and daughter to the king of Servia. The Turk having overrun her country, the emperor, whose relative she was, took care of her, and procured her a husband. She also lent the king her jewels, and they also were pawned for twelve thousand ducats; by which you may see how unprosperous was the beginning of this war, had not God himself conducted the enterprise.

How the king of France raised funds on borrowed jewels.

The king continued at Asti for some time. The wines in Italy were sour this year, and therefore not at all agreeable to the French, any more than the excessive heat of the atmosphere. The lord Ludovico and his wife came with a numerous retinue to wait on his Majesty; they stayed there two days, and then removed to a castle called Annone, about

a league from Asti, belonging to the duchy of Milan, at which place the king's council resorted to him daily. . . .

231a. Florence and the Medici.

Something must now be said of the Florentines, who sent two embassies to the king of France before his setting out upon this expedition; but their design was only to dissemble with him. . . . Our demands were only that they should grant us passage for our troops, and furnish us an hundred men at arms, to be paid by them after the Italian rate (which is but ten thousand ducats a year).

The Medici.

The ambassadors replied according to the instructions that were given them by Piero de' Medici, a young man of no extraordinary parts, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, lately deceased, who had been one of the wisest men of his time, had governed the city almost as a prince, and left it to his son. Their house had already existed two generations, during the lives of Piero, the father of this Lorenzo, and of Cosimo, who founded it, a man worthy to be reckoned among the chief of that age. Indeed, in their profession, which was merchandising, I think this family was the greatest that ever was in the world; for their agents had so much reputation on account of this name of Medici that the effect of it in England and Flanders, as I have myself seen, is scarce credible.

I saw one of their agents, Gerard Canisiani, who kept King Edward IV upon his throne, almost upon his own credit, during the time of the great civil wars in that kingdom; for he furnished the king at different times with more than six-score thousand crowns, — little to his master's advantage, though in the end he got his money back again. I knew also another, named Thomas Portinari, who was security between King Edward and Charles, duke of Burgundy, for fifty thousand crowns, and at another time for eighty thousand. I cannot commend merchants for acting thus; but it is highly commendable in a prince to be punctual with them, and keep his promise exactly; for he knows not how soon he may want their assistance, and certainly a little money sometimes does great service.

Contrast between Lorenzo the Magnificent and his son Piero.

This family of Medici seem already to be in a declining condition — as happens in all kingdoms and governments — for the authority of his predecessors has been hurtful to Piero, though indeed Cosimo, the first of the family, was mild and gentle in his administration, and behaved himself as he ought in a free city.

Lorenzo, the father of that Piero of whom we are now speaking, upon occasion of the difference, mentioned in a former part of this book, betwixt him and the Pisans, in which several of them were hanged, had a guard of twenty soldiers assigned him, for the security of his person, by an order from the city council, which at that time did whatever he commanded. However, he governed very moderately; for, as I said before, he was a wise man.

His son Piero, on the contrary, thought that a guard was his due, and, what is more, he employed it to the terror and vexation of his people, committing great injuries and insolences by night, and invading the common treasure. His father had indeed done this before him; but he managed it so prudently that the people were almost satisfied with his proceedings. . . .

231b. The memorable preaching of Friar Jerome Savonarola.

I had almost forgotten to mention that while I was at Florence, on my way to join the king, I went to pay a visit to a certain Dominican, named Friar Jerome, who, by all reports, was a very holy man, and had lived in a reformed convent fifteen years. There went along with me one Jean François, a prudent person, and steward of the king's household. The occasion of my going to visit Friar Jerome was that he had always preached much in our king's favor, and his words had served to keep the Florentines from turning against us; for never had any preacher enjoyed so much authority in a city.

In spite of what has been said or written to the contrary, he always affirmed that our king would come into Italy, saying that he was sent by God to chastise the tyranny of princes, and that none would be able to oppose him. He foretold likewise that he would come to Pisa and enter it,

and that the state of Florence would be dissolved on that day. And so it fell out; for Piero de' Medici was driven out that very day.

Many other things he presaged long before they came to pass, as, for instance, the death of Lorenzo de' Medici; and he openly declared that he knew it by revelation; as likewise he predicted that the Church would be reformed by the sword. This is not yet accomplished; but it must be said that it very nearly occurred, and he still maintains that it will come to pass.

Many persons blamed him for pretending to receive divine revelations, but others believed him; for my part, I think him a good man.

I asked him whether our king would return safe into France, considering the great preparations that the Venetians were making against him, of which he gave a better account than I could, though I had lately come from Venice. He told me he would meet with difficulties by the way, but that he would overcome them all with honor, though he had but a hundred men in his company; for God, who had conducted him thither, would securely guard him on his way back again.

But because he had not applied himself as he ought to the reformation of the Church, and because he had permitted his soldiers to rob and plunder the poor people, — those who had freely opened their gates to him as well as the enemy who had opposed him, — therefore God had pronounced judgment against him, and in a short time he would receive chastisement.

However, he bade me tell the king that if he would have compassion upon the people, and command his soldiers to do them no wrong, and punish them when they did, as it was his office to do, God would then mitigate, if not revoke, his sentence; but that it would not be sufficient for him to plead that he did the people no wrong himself. And he declared that he would meet the king when he came, and tell him so from his own mouth; and so he did, and pressed hard for the restitution of the Florentine towns.

II. Machiavelli's Description of the Troubles in Italy at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century

Machiavelli's *Prince*.

Machiavelli's little guide for despots, *The Prince*,[1] was written in 1513, at the opening of Leo X's pontificate, and contains many references to important events which were still fresh in his mind. These contemporaneous events and the princes who took part in them are used constantly as illustrations and warnings. Probably no other book gives one so lively a notion as does *The Prince* of the prevailing political spirit at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[2]

232. Machiavelli's estimate of Ferdinand of Aragon.

Nothing makes a prince so well thought of as to undertake great enterprises and give striking proofs of his capacity.

Among the princes of our time Ferdinand of Aragon, the present king of Spain, may almost be accounted a new prince, since from one of the weakest he has become, for fame and glory, the foremost king in Christendom. And if you consider his achievements, you will find them all great, and some extraordinary.

In the beginning of his reign he made war on Granada, which enterprise was the foundation of his power. At first he carried on the war leisurely, without fear of interruption, and kept the attention and thoughts of the barons of Castile so completely occupied with it that they had no time to think of changes at home. Meanwhile he insensibly acquired reputation among them and authority over them. With the

[1] The best edition of *Il Principe* in the original Italian is that edited with an admirable introduction and many notes by L. A. Burd; published, with an interesting preface by Lord Acton, by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1891. The same press has issued a careful translation by N. H. Thomson (2d ed., 1897), which I have here followed.

[2] Extracts from *The Prince* describing the spirit and policy of the Italian despots are given above, Vol. I, pp. 516 *sqq*.

money of the Church and of his subjects he was able to maintain his armies, and during the prolonged contest to lay the foundations of that military discipline which afterwards made him so famous.

Moreover, to enable him to engage in still greater undertakings, always covering himself with the cloak of religion, he had recourse to what may be called "pious cruelty," in driving out and clearing his kingdom of the Moors; than which exploit none could be more wonderful or uncommon. Using the same pretext, he made war on Africa, invaded Italy, and finally attacked France; and being thus constantly busied in planning and executing vast designs, he kept the minds of his subjects in suspense and admiration, and occupied with the results of his actions, which arose one out of another in such close succession as left neither time nor opportunity to oppose them. . . .

232a. Whether it is prudent for a prince to keep his promises.

Every one understands how praiseworthy it is in a prince to keep faith, and to live uprightly and not craftily. Nevertheless we see, from what has taken place in our own days, that princes who have set little store by their word, but have known how to overreach men by their cunning, have accomplished great things, and in the end got the better of those who trusted to honest dealing.

Be it known, then, that there are two ways of contending, — one in accordance with the laws, the other by force; the first of which is proper to men, the second to beasts. But since the first method is often ineffectual, it becomes necessary to resort to the second. A prince should, therefore, understand how to use well both the man and the beast. . . . But inasmuch as a prince should know how to use the beast's nature wisely, he ought of beasts to choose both the lion and the fox; for the lion cannot guard himself from the toils, nor the fox from wolves. He must therefore be a fox to discern toils, and a lion to drive off wolves.

A prince should not keep his word when to keep it would injure him.

To rely wholly on the lion is unwise; and for this reason a prudent prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led

him to pledge it are removed. If all men were good, this would not be good advice, but since they are dishonest and do not keep faith with you, you in return need not keep faith with them; and no prince was ever at a loss for plausible reasons to cloak a breach of faith. Of this numberless recent instances could be given, and it might be shown how many solemn treaties and engagements have been rendered inoperative and idle through want of faith among princes, and that he who has best known how to play the fox has had the best success.

It is necessary, indeed, to put a good color on this nature, and to be skilled in simulating and dissembling. But men are so simple, and governed so absolutely by their present needs, that he who wishes to deceive will never fail in finding willing dupes. One recent example I will not omit. Pope Alexander VI had no care or thought but how to deceive, and always found material to work on. No man ever had a more effective manner of asseverating, or made promises with more solemn protestations, or observed them less. And yet, because he understood this side of human nature, his frauds always succeeded. . . .

232b. Policy of Pope Alexander VI and his son, Cæsar Borgia.

In his efforts to aggrandize his son, the duke [Cæsar Borgia], Alexander VI had to face many difficulties, both immediate and remote. In the first place, he saw no way to make him ruler of any state which did not belong to the Church. Yet, if he sought to take for him a state of the Church, he knew that the duke of Milan and the Venetians would withhold their consent, Faenza and Rimini[1] being already under the protection of the latter. Further, he saw that the forces of Italy, and those more especially of which he might have availed himself, were in the hands of men who had reason to fear his aggrandizement, — that is, of the Orsini, the Colonnesi,[2] and their followers. These, therefore, he could not trust.

[1] Towns in Romagna, a province upon which Alexander VI had his eyes as an appropriate field of conquest for his son.

[2] Powerful families of Roman barons.

The pope's selfish reasons for encouraging Louis XII to invade Italy.

It was consequently necessary that the existing order of things should be changed, and the states of Italy thrown into confusion, in order that he might safely make himself master of some part of them; and this became easy for him when he found that the Venetians, moved by other causes, were plotting to bring the French once more into Italy. This design he accordingly did not oppose, but furthered by annulling the first marriage of King Louis of France.[1]

Louis XII captures Milan.

King Louis therefore came into Italy at the instance of the Venetians, and with the consent of Pope Alexander; and no sooner was he in Milan than the pope got troops from him to forward the papal schemes in Romagna, which province, moved by the reputation of the French arms, at once submitted. After thus obtaining possession of Romagna, and after quelling the Colonnesi, Duke Valentine (i.e. Cæsar Borgia) was desirous of following up and extending his conquests. Two causes, however, held him back; namely, the doubtful fidelity of his own forces and the waywardness of France. . . .

Cæsar Borgia's methods of ridding himself of his enemies.

The duke, trusting no longer either to the French or to any other foreign aid, that he might not have to confront them openly, resorted to stratagem, and was so well able to dissemble his designs that the Orsini . . . were drawn, in their simplicity, into his hands at Sinigaglia.[2] When the leaders were thus disposed of and their followers made his friends, the duke had laid sufficiently good foundations for his future power, since he held all Romagna together with the dukedom of Urbino, and had ingratiated himself with the entire population of these states, who now began to see that they were well off.

How Cæsar Borgia ruled his duchy of Romagna.

And since this part of his conduct merits both attention and imitation, I shall not pass it over in silence. After the duke had taken Romagna, finding that it had been ruled by feeble lords, who thought more of plundering than of governing

[1] Louis XII's desire for a divorce was due to his eagerness to marry the widow of Charles VIII, Anne of Brittany, who would bring to the French crown the important fief of Brittany.

[2] Here Cæsar had his dangerous generals strangled in a most treacherous manner.

their subjects, — which gave them more cause for division than for union, so that the country was overrun with robbery, tumult, and every kind of outrage, — he judged it necessary, with a view to rendering it peaceful, and obedient to his authority, to provide it with a good government. Accordingly he set over it Messer Remiro d' Orco, a stern and prompt ruler, who, being intrusted with the fullest powers, in a very short time, and with much credit to himself, restored it to tranquillity and order. But afterwards the duke, apprehending that such unlimited authority might become odious, decided that it was no longer needed, and established in the center of the province a civil tribunal, with an excellent president, in which every town was represented by its advocate. And knowing that past severities had generated ill feeling against himself, in order to purge the minds of the people and gain their good will, he sought to show them that any cruelty which had been done had not originated with him, but in the harsh disposition of his minister. Availing himself of the pretext which this afforded, he one morning caused Remiro to be beheaded, and exposed in the market place of Cesena with a block and bloody ax by his side. The barbarity of this spectacle at once astounded and satisfied the populace.

Cæsar's proof of his gentle disposition.

But Machiavelli hated the "barbarians," — the French, Germans, and Spaniards, — and in the last chapter of his *Prince* he called upon the nephew of Leo X to free Italy from the foreign invaders and, by putting in practice the principles of conduct previously described, to establish a strong government and bring peace once more to his distracted country.

232c. Machiavelli calls upon the house of Medici to drive out the "barbarians."

Turning over in my mind all the matters which have been considered above, and debating with myself whether in Italy at the present hour the times are such as might serve to confer honor on a new prince, and whether a fit opportunity now offers for a prudent and valiant leader to bring about

changes glorious for himself and beneficial to the whole Italian people, it seems to me that so many conditions combine to further such an enterprise, that I know of no time so favorable to it as the present. And if, as I have said, it was necessary in order to display the valor of Moses that the children of Israel should be slaves in Egypt, and to show the greatness and courage of Cyrus that the Persians should be oppressed by the Medes, and to illustrate the excellence of Theseus that the Athenians should be scattered and divided, so at this hour, to prove the worth of some Italian hero, it was required that Italy should be brought to her present abject condition, be more a slave than the Hebrew, more oppressed than the Persian, more disunited than the Athenian, without a head, without order, beaten, spoiled, torn in pieces, overrun, and abandoned to destruction in every shape.

Italy oppressed by foreign powers.

But though, heretofore, glimmerings may have been discerned in this man or that, whence it might be conjectured that he was ordained by God for Italy's redemption, nevertheless it has afterwards been seen in the further course of his actions that Fortune has disowned him; so that our country, left almost without life, still waits to know who it is that is to heal her bruises, to put an end to the devastation and plunder of Lombardy and to the exactions and imposts of Naples and Tuscany, and to stanch those wounds of hers which long neglect has changed into running sores.

Italy prays for a deliverer.

We see how she prays God to send some one to rescue her from these barbarous cruelties and oppressions. We see too how ready and eager she is to follow any standard, were there only some one to raise it. But at present we see no one except in your illustrious house (preëminent by its virtues and good fortune, and favored by God and by the Church, whose headship it now holds) who could undertake the part of a deliverer. But for you this will not be too hard a task, if you keep before your eyes the lives and actions of those whom I have named above. . . .

If then your illustrious house should seek to follow the example of those great men who have delivered their country

National troops should be substituted for the mercenaries.

in past ages, it is before all things necessary, as the true foundation of every such attempt, to be provided with national troops, since you can have no braver, truer, or more faithful soldiers. And although every single man of them be good, collectively they will be better, seeing themselves commanded by their own prince, and honored and esteemed by him. That you may be able, therefore, to defend yourself against the foreigner with Italian valor, the first step is to provide yourself with an army such as this. . . .

This opportunity, then, for Italy at last to look on her deliverer, ought not to be allowed to pass away. With what love he would be received in all those provinces which have suffered from the foreign inundation; with what thirst for vengeance, with what firm fidelity, with what devotion and what tears, no words of mine can declare. What gates would be closed against him? What people would refuse him obedience? What jealousy would stand in his way? What Italian but would yield him homage? This barbarian tyranny stinks in all nostrils.

III. The Good Chevalier Bayard. The Battle of Marignano (1515)

The life of the Chevalier Bayard by the Loyal Servitor.

In the dreary annals of the bloody and fruitless wars carried on by the French kings, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, with the hope of gaining a foothold in Italy, one brave warrior stands out whom the French have rightly never ceased to love, — the Chevalier Bayard, the knight "without fear and without reproach." We have a beautiful life of him, the very title of which might make it immortal, *The very Joyous, Pleasing, and Diverting History of the Gentle Lord of Bayard, written by the Loyal Servitor.* We are carried back to the knightly St. Louis and his biographer,[1] only the Loyal Servitor, as he chose to

[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 212 *sq.*

sign himself, was probably no high-born noble, as was Joinville, but a faithful squire and secretary. The life of the chevalier opens as follows:

233. How the Good Chevalier chose the profession of arms.

In the country of Dauphiny which is now held by the king of France, — as it has been by his predecessors for many years, ever since the dauphin Humbert, who was the last of his race, gave it to them, — there are a number of good and great families of nobles, from which so many doughty and virtuous knights have gone forth that the fame of them has spread abroad throughout all Christendom. As scarlet surpasses all other colors, even so the chevaliers of Dauphiny, without slight to the nobility of any other region, are called by all those who know them the scarlet among the gentlemen of France. Among these families is that of Bayard, of ancient and noble extraction, as those who have sprung from it have abundantly proved; for at the battle of Poitiers the great-great-grandfather of the Good Chevalier without fear and without reproach died at the feet of King John of France; at Crécy his great-grandfather perished; at Montlhéry his grandfather was left on the field of battle with six mortal wounds, not counting his other injuries; and at Guinegate his father was so sore wounded that he was never afterwards able to leave his house, where he died at the age of eighty.

A few days before his death, seeing that his strength was so failing him that he could not long remain in this mortal life, he called to him his four children in the presence of his wife, — a very pious lady, wholly devoted to God, the sister of the bishop of Grenoble, of the family of Aleman. His children being gathered about him he asked the eldest, who was eighteen or twenty years old, what he wished to be. The youth replied that he never wished to leave his father's house, which he would serve to the end of his days. "Very well, George," replied the father; "since you love the house, you shall stay here and fight the bears."

The second boy, who was the Good Chevalier without fear and without reproach, was then asked what career he

would follow. He was only thirteen or a little more, but alert as a falcon; and his sunny face beamed as he answered, like a man of fifty: "My father, the bond of paternal love holds me so fast that I ought to forget everything else in order to serve you at the close of your life; nevertheless the glorious tales which you have told me daily of the noble men of the past, especially those of our own house, have sunk deep into my heart, and I desire, if it please you, to follow the calling of yourself and your ancestors, namely, that of arms; for it is that, in all the world, which I most greatly desire; and I trust, with God's grace, not to bring dishonor upon you." Then the good old man replied with tears: "My child, God grant you his grace! You already resemble your grandfather in face and figure, and he in his time was one of the most accomplished knights in Christendom. I will do everything I can to put you in the way of accomplishing your desires."

The Loyal Servitor thus describes the death of Louis XII and the opening of Francis I's earliest Italian campaign, in which the Chevalier Bayard was conspicuous:

233a. How Louis XII died and was succeeded by Francis I.

The good king of France, Louis XII, after passing through many adventures in the year 1513 [and losing all hold on Milan, for which he had fought so hard], returned to his city of Blois, where he hoped for some respite and enjoyment; but his pleasure was speedily turned to great grief and sadness, for about the beginning of January his good companion and spouse, Anne, queen of France and duchess of Brittany, fell grievously ill, and, in spite of all the doctors that her husband summoned to her aid, she rendered up her soul to God in less than a week, which was an unutterable loss to France and a cause of perpetual mourning to all the people of Brittany. The good King Louis was so sore afflicted by this grievous bereavement that for a whole week he never ceased to weep, praying that it might be the pleasure of our Lord that he should

rejoin his dear wife. His only remaining comfort was in the two good and beautiful princesses whom his wife had borne him, Claude and Renée, the latter about three years old. . . .

Marriage of Louis XII with the sister of Henry VIII.

Later in this same year, about the month of October, through the mediation of Lord Longueville, who was then a prisoner in England, a marriage was arranged between King Louis and Mary, sister of the English king; and the lady was conducted to Abbeville, where our lord king married her. He did not much need to be married, for many reasons, nor did he greatly care to; but as he saw himself threatened with war on all hands and could not maintain himself without burdening his people, like the pelican, he sacrificed himself for his children. For when the queen Mary [then sixteen years old] had made her entry into Paris, with great magnificence; and after many jousts and tourneys, which lasted more than six weeks, were over, the good king, to please his young wife, changed his whole manner of life; for where he had been wont to breakfast at eight o'clock he had to take his *déjeuner* at noon, and instead of going to bed at six o'clock in the evening he often did not get to bed before midnight. So, toward the end of December, he fell ill of a disease which defied all human remedies, and he rendered up his soul to God on the first of the following January after midnight.

He had been a good prince, wise and upright, who maintained peace among his subjects and had not burdened them except when he was compelled to do so. He had seen much good and much evil in his time, for he knew the world well. He had won many victories over his enemies, but at the end of his life fortune turned a rather sour face upon him. . . .

Accession of Francis I (1515).

After him Francis, the first of that name, succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty. He was as handsome a prince as the world had ever seen, and had married Lady Claude of France, the eldest daughter of the king, his predecessor, and of the duchess of Brittany. Never has there been a king in France so beloved of the nobles. He was

conducted to Rheims to be consecrated, accompanied by so many princes, gentlemen, and officers that the number of them was something almost incredible. . . .

Opening of the Italian campaign.

While these things were taking place the king of France was privily preparing for his expedition for the conquest of his duchy of Milan, and gradually collected his army near Lyons and in Dauphiny. The Good Chevalier was already at that time the king's lieutenant in that region, where he was as beloved as if he were their natural lord. Now, as you have already learned from sundry passages, the Good Chevalier was always gladly at the front when the enemy was attacked and in the rear when his men retreated. And so it happened in this expedition, for he was sent with his company and three or four thousand foot soldiers to the borders of Dauphiny and the territory of the marquis of Saluzzo, who had lost all his possessions except a strong fortress called Revello. In the marquis' territory a great number of Swiss were garrisoned, and Lord Prospero Colonna, the lieutenant general of the pope, had taken up his residence there, exacting tribute of the people and doing just as he liked. [The French troops, however, made their way over a pass which the Swiss had failed to guard, reënforced Bayard and his men, and took Colonna prisoner.]

233b. The Battle of Marignano (September 13–14, 1515).

The king of France, who was very joyful over the taking of Lord Prospero, — and with good reason, — marched with his army as fast as he could and came into Piedmont to Turin, where the duke of Savoy, his uncle, received him honorably. The Swiss, who had been guarding the passes, when they heard of the taking of Lord Prospero and the rout of his troops, abandoned their posts and retired toward Milan, whither they were pursued.

Proposals for settling the difficulties between the Swiss and the king of France were under consideration. . . . Negotiations continued until a conclusion was reached, as the army of the king was approaching within twelve or fifteen miles of Milan, whither the Swiss had retreated with their good prophet, the cardinal of Sion, who all his life had been a mortal enemy of the French, as he was to show himself

this time.[1] For though the lord of Lautrec had gone to take the sum agreed upon [2] to the village of Galeazzo (near Milan), the cardinal preached so eloquently to the Swiss on a Thursday at evening, and recalled so many things to their minds, that they rushed forth like wild men from Milan and cast themselves upon the camp of the king of France.

The constable Bourbon, who commanded the advance guard, immediately brought his troops into order and notified the king, who was just sitting down to supper: he left his supper and went straight against the enemy, who were already engaging in skirmishes, which went on for some time before the real fight began. The king of France had a great number of pikemen who attempted, in a fit of foolhardiness, to cross a ditch in order to come at the Swiss, who let seven or eight ranks advance and then threw themselves forward in such a way that those who had already crossed the ditch were hurled back into it, and the pikemen were thereby thrown into great consternation. If it had not been for the lord of Guise, — who fought marvelously and was left on the field for dead, — the duke of Bourbon, the constable, the gentle count of St. Pol, the Good Chevalier, and many others, who opposed themselves to this body of Swiss, there would have been a great disaster, for it was already night, and the night feels no shame.

Bravery of Francis.

But by evening the soldiers of the advance guard had broken the ranks of the Swiss, some two thousand of whom started to pass in front of the king, who recklessly charged them. There was a sharp combat, in which the king's person was in great danger, for a great hole was made in his

[1] The Swiss were wont to hire themselves out as mercenary soldiers, and were in great repute on account of their bravery. Louis XII had some years earlier refused to employ them on the terms they demanded, and had alienated their leader, Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sion, by declining to give him a pension. Francis I, after Marignano, made a treaty with them which was observed until the opening of the French Revolution.

[2] The Swiss had been offered 700,000 crowns if they would return to their country and leave Milan to the French.

headpiece by a pike. But it was now so late in the day that neither side could see the other, and both the Swiss and the French were forced for that evening to retire. They disposed themselves for the night as best they could, but I do not think that any one was much at his ease. Every one took what came to him, the king of France as well as the least of his soldiers, for he remained all night on horseback like the rest.

Adventure of the Good Chevalier.

We must tell of one affair in which the Good Chevalier without fear and without reproach found himself in a strange and dangerous position. While the last charge was being made upon the Swiss during the evening he mounted upon a gallant courser, which was his second that day, for at the first charge his horse had been killed under him. As he would have pressed on he found himself entirely surrounded by pikes, so that his horse lost its bridle. Finding itself without rein, it took its own course, and in spite of the Swiss passed quite through them, and would have carried the Good Chevalier right into another troop of Swiss had it not been that the way led through a vineyard, where the vines were trained from tree to tree in such a way that they stopped the horse.

The Good Chevalier was much frightened, and not without good cause, for he was dead, and no mistake, if he fell into the hands of the enemy. He did not, however, lose his good sense, but gently dismounted and, throwing away his headpiece and cuirass, he crawled along the ditches on all fours, in the direction in which lay the camp of the French and where he heard cries of "France." God in his grace permitted him to get through without danger, and luckily for him the first man that he came upon was the gentle duke of Lorraine, one of his masters, who was much astonished to see him so on foot.

The good horse Carman.

So the said duke immediately provided him with a gallant horse called Carman, which had been captured at the fall of Bresse and presented to the duke by the Good Chevalier himself. At the battle of Ravenna it had been left for dead, for the Good Chevalier had dismounted when he found that

his horse had two pike wounds in his flanks and more than twenty sword cuts on his head.

Next day, however, some one happened to notice that the horse was browsing and that it commenced to whinny; so the animal was brought back to the lodging of the Good Chevalier, who had him cured; and it is a fact hardly to be believed that the horse lay down like a person and let his wounds be dressed without moving at all. And afterwards when he got sight of a sword he would rush at it as if to devour it. A braver horse was never seen — not even that of Alexander, Bucephalus.

However this may be, the Good Chevalier was very joyful to have escaped so great a danger and to be mounted once more on so good a horse; but he was troubled because he had no headpiece, for in such affairs it was very dangerous to have the head bare.

So he approached a nobleman, a very good friend of his, whose page was carrying his helmet, and said to him: "I am afraid of catching cold, for I am in a great sweat, having been so long on foot. I pray you, lend me your helmet, which your man is carrying, for an hour or so." The noble, not knowing what was in the mind of the Good Chevalier, loaned him his helmet, which he was glad enough to have, and kept until the battle was all over, and that was Friday at ten or eleven o'clock.

Intrepidity of the Swiss.

At daybreak the Swiss recommenced the battle and marched straight toward the French artillery, who gave them a very warm reception indeed. Nevertheless no men ever fought more bravely, and the affair lasted for three or four hours, but at last they were routed and defeated, leaving ten or twelve thousand of their number dead on the field. The remainder retired in fairly good order along the highroad to Milan. . . .

Francis I knighted by the Good Chevalier.

The evening of Friday, when the battle was finished to the honor of the king of France, there was joy without measure in the camp. There was much talk as to who had shown themselves valorous above their fellows; but it was agreed by all that the Good Chevalier during both

days had distinguished himself above all the rest, as he was accustomed to do in other places under the same circumstances. The king did him the greatest honor, for he received the order of knighthood from his hand, and he had good reason for it; he could have found no better man.[1]

Milan ceded to Francis I

The lord Maximilian Sforza, who occupied the duchy of Milan, as had his father, Ludovico il Moro, before him, remained in the castle of Milan, where he was besieged, but he speedily surrendered and for an indemnity agreed to cede his duchy to the king; and those who were in the city were allowed to depart with their possessions.

I shall say nothing about what happened for the next two months, but in December the king of France went to visit the pope in the city of Bologna, where he was received with great pomp. They consulted together over many things, with which I will not delay my story.[2]

[1] Another historian of the Good Chevalier gives a brief account of how Francis was knighted.

The king, before he dubbed the knights, called the noble Chevalier Bayard and said to him: "Bayard, my friend, I wish to-day to be made knight by your hands; because you have fought on foot and on horseback in many battles and are held and reputed to be above all others the most worthy. . . ." To these words of the king, Bayard responded, "Sire, he who is called, crowned, and anointed with the oil sent down from heaven, and is king of so noble a realm and the eldest son of the Church, is a knight above all other knights." But the king said, "Come, Bayard; make haste." Then Bayard took his sword and said: "May you be able to do all things as if you were Roland or Oliver, Godfrey or Baldwin, his brother. Assuredly you are the greatest prince who ever was made knight. God grant that in war you shall never take flight." Then after the manner of a play, he cried aloud to his sword, holding it aloft in his right hand: "You are happy indeed to have conferred the order of chivalry to-day upon so fine and powerful a king. Certes, my good sword, you will be cared for hereafter like a sacred relic and honored above all others, and you shall never be carried again except it be against the Turks, Saracens, or Moors." Then he made two passes with his sword and put it back into its scabbard. (From Champier, *Les Gestes, ensemble la vie du preulx Chevalier Bayard;* a very early life, quoted by Roman in his edition of the *Loyal Serviteur,* p. 386, note.)

[2] See *History of Western Europe*, p. 366, note (Vol. II, p. 14, note).

IV. Spain at the Opening of the Sixteenth Century

234. Guicciardini's report on Spain (1513).

In 1512 the republic of Florence dispatched one of its most distinguished citizens, the historian Guicciardini,[1] to Spain with orders to learn all that he could of the country and of the character and projects of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, who had been interfering for years in Italian matters. Guicciardini remained in Spain for toward two years, and prepared for his government a brief but very careful report, in which he describes the general condition of the country, the temperament of the people, and the court of Ferdinand. If his observations are trustworthy, it is clear that Spain was not in a flourishing condition on the eve of Charles V's accession, and that it is small wonder that, with the perverse policy of its kings in undertaking foreign conquests and in persecuting the industrious Moors at home, the kingdom should have declined rapidly when the money from the American mines began to give out.

Meager population of Spain.

Spain is thinly populated, so that towns and burgs are rare, and between one great town and another scarcely a house will be found. In short, the inhabitants are few. There are some fine cities, like Barcelona, Sargossa, Valencia, Granada, and Seville; but they are few for such an important kingdom and for so great an area of country. Aside from these principal centers, most of the towns are small and have rude buildings, of which the greater part, in many places, are built of mud and are, moreover, full of filth and dirt.

Fertility of the land.

The land is fertile and yields abundantly, since more grain is raised than is necessary for use at home. The same may be said of the wine, which is sent by sea to Flanders and England. Oil, too, is exported in great quantities every year to the countries mentioned above and to

[1] See below, p. 30.

Alexandria, to the value of more than sixty thousand ducats. The fertility is greatest in the lower parts of Andalusia and Granada, and would be much greater than it is if all the land were brought under cultivation; but it is worked only in the neighborhood of the towns and there badly; the rest remains untilled. Much wool is exported annually, amounting, it is said, to two hundred and fifty thousand ducats, as well as the finest silk, especially from the lower regions. From Viscaya come iron and steel in considerable quantity, and much grain, leather, alum, and many other products, so that if only this nation were industrious and given to trade it would be rich.

The country is cold in the region of the Pyrenees, very warm in Andalusia and Granada, and more temperate in the central districts.

Haughtiness of the Spaniards.

The men of this nation are gloomy of temperament and swarthy of complexion; dark in color and short of stature; they are proud by nature, and it seems to them as if no nation could be compared with theirs. They are prone to boast in their conversation of their own things, and endeavor to make the best possible appearance. They have little love for foreigners and are very uncivil toward them. They are devoted to arms, perhaps more than any other Christian nation, and are very skillful with them, owing to their agile frames and their dexterity. In military matters they are great sticklers for honor, in such wise that rather than sully it they prefer to die. . . .

Unpopularity of trade and industry.

The Spaniards are held to be clever and acute, but nevertheless they are not skillful in any of the arts, whether mechanical or liberal. Almost all the artisans at the king's court belong to the French or to some other foreign nation. The natives do not devote themselves to trade, which they look upon as degrading; the pride of the hidalgo goes to his head, and he would rather turn to arms with little chance of gain, or serve a grandee in wretchedness and poverty, or, before the times of the present king, even assault wayfarers, than engage in trade or any other business. Recently, however, some attention is beginning to be given in a few places

to trade, and already in parts of Spain cloth and silks are manufactured ; . . . for example, in Valencia, Toledo, and Seville.

But the whole nation is opposed to industry. Accordingly the artisans only work when they are driven to do so by necessity, and then they take their ease until they have spent their earnings ; this is the reason why manual labor is so dear. The meanest cultivators of the soil have the same habit. They will not exert themselves except under dire pressure of want, so that they bring much less land under cultivation than they might, and the little they do till is badly cared for. . . .

Aside from a few grandees of the kingdom who display great luxury, it must be remembered that the rest of the people live at home in the utmost straits ; and if they have a little to spend they put it all on their backs or in purchasing a mule, thus making a great show before the world when they have scarce anything at home, where their surroundings are mean in the extreme and where they exercise an economy truly astonishing.

Although they know how to live on little, they are by no means free from cupidity. On the contrary, they are very avaricious, and not having any of the arts to rely upon, they are driven to robbery, so that in earlier times when the kingdom was less orderly it was full of assassins, who were favored by the nature of the country, with its many mountainous regions and its sparse population. . . .

Superficial religion and politeness of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards have not turned their attention to books, and neither the nobility nor others have any idea of Latin, except a very few, who know a little of the language. They are outwardly very religious, but not inwardly. They have infinite ceremonies, which they perform with great exactness, and show much humility in speech, the use of titles, and the kissing of hands. Every one is their lord, every one may command them ; but this means little, and you can place no faith in them. . . .

This nation down to our own time has been more oppressed and has enjoyed less glory and dominion than

any other nation of Europe, for in the most ancient times the peninsula was occupied in great part by the Gauls. . . . Then the Carthaginians took possession of much of it; then the Romans conquered it all several times. Later the Vandals subjugated the region, and from them Andalusia took its name. Lastly the Moors from Africa conquered not only the southern regions, but extended their dominion into Aragon and Castile and even in some instances as far as the Pyrenees. Down to our own time they held Granada. Hence it may be said that Spain has been in a prolonged servitude and has enjoyed no dominion over others, the which cannot be said of Italy, or France, or of any other country of Christendom. Certainly this is a singular fact if we consider how devoted the country is to arms and how warlike it has always been, even from of old, as the ancient writers testify. . . .

Successive conquests of the Spanish peninsula.

The reason for this may have been that Spain has always had better soldiers than leaders, and that her people have always been more skilled to fight than to govern or command. Happening upon this matter one day with King Ferdinand, he said to me that the nation was devoted to arms but unorganized, and that great results would be obtained should any one arise who could hold it well in hand. The ancient writers praise the nation more for a wild anxiety to rush to arms and keep up war than for any other virtue. Accordingly Livy speaks of the people as born to fight, and in another place he says they carry on war with more rashness than perseverance. Yet I do not know whether this is the true reason or not.

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The sources.

Ranke likens the sources of modern history to a vast museum, where we see about us genuine specimens and mere imitations, the beautiful and the repulsive, the striking and the inconspicuous, all collected from many nations and belonging to various periods and yet lying beside one another, without order or explanation ("Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber," Vorrede). It seems at first sight hopeless and vain to give a very brief account of the multitudinous sources for the history of western Europe, since the opening of the sixteenth century. Yet those of first-rate importance which have a general bearing and may be looked for in our few large American libraries are by no means innumerable. In any case it will be possible to give the advanced student, in this and the succeeding bibliographies, some little idea of the great classes of material — state papers, memoirs, correspondence, diaries, reports — upon which the historian must rely.

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letters, and other documents, and his "diaries" are a mine of information for the first third of the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER XXIV

GERMANY BEFORE THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

I. Germany in the Time of Maximilian I

It would be difficult indeed to give a clearer or more comprehensive account of the conditions in Germany than that submitted by the Venetian ambassador, Quirini, on his return from the court of Maximilian in 1507.[1] Maximilian was just then contemplating an expedition to Italy, and consequently Quirini opens his report to the doge and council as follows:

235. A Venetian ambassador's account of Germany in 1507.

Since, most serene prince [namely, the doge], and most sage and weighty council, all the discord which is now to be observed among Christian peoples appears to be due to the most serene king of the Romans [namely, Maximilian] and to the Empire, it seemed to me my duty to report to your excellencies concerning affairs in Germany with such fullness as to enable you in the present emergencies and in those which you will have to face from, let us say, to-day the better to reach your wise decisions.

First, to proceed in an orderly fashion, I will endeavor to narrate all that I have been able to learn of the extent of that country, its government and resources, and the customs throughout Germany; then of the character and resources of his Majesty the emperor, and the relations which have existed and now exist between him and the princes and estates of the Empire, and between him and the Swiss; lastly, of the disposition of the Empire and the king toward

[1] For an account of the reports of the Venetian ambassadors, see above, p. 30.

this republic and the rest of the Christian rulers, and what his Majesty may be able to accomplish at this juncture.

Enumeration of the chief German princes.

This country of Germany is large and populous, full of principalities, towns, cities, burgs, and castles. . . . Among the temporal rulers there are two kings, about thirty dukes and an archduke, four landgraves, and a great number of counts. The chief among these rulers are the kings of Bohemia and of Denmark, the archduke of Austria, two dukes of Saxony, the duke of Brunswick, the duke of Lüneburg, the duke of Pomerania, the duke of Mechlenburg and he of Jülich and Cleves, the duke of Franconia, the dukes of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the count palatine, the landgrave of Alsace, two margraves of Brandenburg and one of Baden.

The ecclesiastical princes.

Of those in Germany who are at once spiritual and temporal princes, there are five archbishops — Mayence, Cologne, Treves, Mechlenburg,[1] and Salzburg — and about twenty-five bishops. Of these latter, the chief are Würzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Augsburg, Freising, Eichstädt, Liége, Constance, and Trent. Beside these, there are twenty abbots, five masters of religious orders, and fifteen priors, — all princes of the Empire, who combine spiritual and temporal powers like the bishops.

The free towns.

Besides the above-mentioned principalities there are in Germany about a hundred free towns, of which twenty-eight belong to the Swabian League, sixty-two to the great league of Dantzig and Lübeck [namely, the Hanseatic League], while the rest lie in the region of the Rhine. The principal members of the great league are Dantzig, Stolp, Colberg, Lübeck, Limburg, Hamburg, and Stade; of the Swabian League, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen, and Strasburg. The chief of the Rhine district are Cologne, Speyer, Worms, Frankfort, and Constance. And this ends what I have to say about the size of Germany. . . .

Limited power of the emperor.

The authority over the Empire vested in the emperor, or king of the Romans, goes no further than the laws and justice permit, and he cannot despotically force the princes

[1] Magdeburg is meant.

and free towns to obey any particular desire of his unless he first convoke all the Empire to a diet. . . .

How the diet is summoned

The king of the Romans, or emperor, who proposes in the interest of the Empire to have a careful deliberation, sends a summons to each prince, whether ecclesiastical or secular, and to each of the free towns, that they should all within two months, or three, or whatever time may seem good to him, come together in a certain place, either in person or through representatives or substitutes, on business of importance to the Empire. And all those who are summoned are obliged to come within the limit set; and if they do not come, they incur whatever penalty the king shall impose upon them; and if they do not pay the penalty, they may be excommunicated[1] by the emperor, just as one is excommunicated by the pope. In this case it is free to all to rob and kill the person excommunicated. For this reason every one takes care to come to the diet or send a representative, and not to disobey the emperor in any matter in which, with the consent of the Empire, he may command. . . .

The ban

Method of procedure in the diet.

When all the princes and representatives have presented themselves, either in person or through their substitutes, the diet opens. The king, or emperor, declares the object and cause for the calling of the diet; he then submits a proposal; the princes remain in consultation some days and then make their answer. This the king accepts, and makes another proposition ("*iterum*," as it is called), and so business proceeds, the diet either taking action or postponing its decision to another time. In this way two and sometimes three months pass.

Disputes adjusted by the diet.

But the princes or their representatives do not spend all their time in deliberating upon the matters for which the diet was summoned, but settle as well a thousand controversies between prince and prince, between free towns and princes, and between one town and another; they make, moreover, divers provisions according as necessity demands.

[1] Namely, put to the ban, i.e. outlawed. For an illustration, see below pp. 87 *sq.*

The method of voting by orders, not by individuals.

In reaching decisions on important matters the diet is wont to have but three votes, or ballots: one is cast by the electors, the second by the princes, and the third by the representatives of the free towns. . . . When the diet is about to come to an end, these three votes are compared, and the decision sanctioned by two of them is regarded as conclusive and established; and each prince of the empire whether present or absent, and similarly every free town, is obliged to obey that which the diet decides, under heavy penalties, both as to furnishing money and sending troops in the manner prescribed.

Execution of the diet's decrees.

The king, or emperor, has full authority, as soon as the diet has dissolved, to order every one to obey its decisions. If, nevertheless, some one ventures to disobey, the whole Empire, in order not to see its commands disregarded, always turns upon the offender, as happened in recent years in the case of the count palatine, who, for his refusal to accede to what was determined upon at the diet of Augsburg, which was especially concerned with the heritage of Duke George of Bavaria, roused the anger of the king and the whole Empire against him, and in a brief space of time was destroyed. For this reason all the princes and free towns are careful to follow the decisions of the diets, nor do they venture to contravene in any way what has been established. Decisions of the diet cannot be changed except by another diet similar to that which first ratified them.

The free towns.

As for the government of the free towns, each one rules itself by its council, to which are admitted citizens, traders who are not citizens, and artisans; yet not all the members of these classes are included in the council, for the number varies with the size of the place, and changes from time to time. These councils appoint the magistrates, who administer justice for the time being and, moreover, regulate the revenues and public affairs of the town precisely as if it was a free and independent state.

Some of the towns owe their freedom to privileges granted by the emperor for deeds of valor in the struggle of the Empire against the infidels, who were earlier very troublesome.

Others gained their freedom by giving a sum of money to the temporal lord or bishop who held them, and who consented accordingly to cede to the town the territory belonging to it. So many towns have gained their freedom in these two ways during the period that the Germans have enjoyed control of the Empire, that they now number nearly a hundred. In order to maintain their freedom they are accustomed to unite themselves together in leagues for mutual protection and to oppose those princes who would subjugate them. They receive into their leagues those princes of the Empire who wish to join them, whether ecclesiastical or secular. The leagues are temporary and are continued or changed from time to time as suits their members. . . .[1]

Character of the princes.

The customs and manners of this German nation are as follows: first, there are four kinds of persons, — princes of the Empire, nobles, citizens of the free towns, and, lastly, the common people. The princes are in the habit of remaining in their own territories far from the court, where they support by their income, so far as they can, the nobles [knights] of the region. These princes are almost continually at strife with one another or with some of the free towns. If they are poor, they generally permit their retainers to attack and rob on the highways. They are naturally proud and insolent, and feel resentment toward any one who is able to rival them in any respect. They heartily hate the free towns, and all republics and free communities in general, especially the Swiss and our most exalted senate, for it seems to them that the Swiss have always shown themselves rebels toward the Empire and that your sublimities, paying little attention to their authority, hold much territory which they claim is not yours and which they believe should rightfully be divided among them.

Reason for the great number of dukes, counts, etc., in Germany.

Moreover the chief temporal princes are in the habit of leaving their principality to the eldest son and then providing for the rest of their children with other territories, bishoprics, or ecclesiastical benefices; so that if a duke has ten sons, all demand to be dukes like their father. The result is

[1] Here follows an account of the military system and resources of Germany.

that there are an infinite multitude of counts, dukes, and margraves in Germany, the chief of whom have been mentioned above. Consequently the greater part of the temporal princes are always ready to descend into Italy in order to provide, some their sons, some their brothers or nephews, with principalities. The ecclesiastical princes, on the other hand, and the free towns would prefer to live in peace and not waste their substance. The princes all live in abundance, but give more attention to drinking than anything else. They are miserably dressed, nor do they affect much ceremony in their courts.

The knights.

The knights are accustomed to live in some castle far from a town, or at the court of some prince, or among the mountains in solitary regions. They live and dress wretchedly, hate the burghers, and are poor, but so proud that nothing in the world would induce them to engage in commerce. They are devoted to fighting; and when that is wanting they have nothing to do but to hunt or set to plundering on the highways. Were it not for severe repression, no one could travel safely in any part of Germany. Even as it is, in Franconia, where there are a great many of these gentlemen, the roads are very insecure; for example, in the region of Nuremburg and in many other places.

The burghers.

The burghers of the free towns are all merchants. They live well but dress ill, although there are some very rich people among them. They maintain justice, desire peace, hate the knights heartily and fear the princes, and for this reason the cities form leagues among themselves. The towns are moreover at enmity each with its bishop on account of his desire to exercise the temporal as well as the spiritual authority over the town. This hostility is increased by the natural ill feeling between the burghers on the one hand and the knights and princes on the other, for the bishops are always chosen from among the knights and princes, since the canons, who have the right to elect the bishop, all belong by descent to the noble classes and not to the burghers.

The common people.

The lower classes, whether subject to the princes or the free towns, are poor, wild by nature, do not fear to endanger

their lives, and are very loyal to their lords. They are loath to exert themselves to earn anything, and the little they get they speedily drink up.

II. "The Ship of Fools" and "The Praise of Folly"

236. *The Ship of Fools*, by Sebastian Brant.

Two famous satires of the early sixteenth century afford an idea of the evils of the time which were uppermost in men's minds. The first, *The Ship of Fools*, by Sebastian Brant, a citizen of Strasburg, was originally issued in 1494. It describes in lively German verse the various kinds of fools that were got together to be shipped off to Fool-land. Brant's "fools," who are generally of the vicious variety, range from the harmless impostor who buys books that he is too lazy to read, to the scandal monger, the cheating lawyer, the blasphemer, and the robber knight. Brant's book enjoyed incredible popularity. It was praised by scholars and was devoured eagerly by the common people, who were delighted to have so amusing and instructive a book in their own language. It was speedily translated into Latin, Dutch, French, and English. The following passages give some idea of Brant's style of treating his theme.[1]

> Europe's door is opened wide.
> There's nothing to stay the enemy's tide,
> Whose ardor knows no rest nor sleep

[1] Brant, *Narrenschiff*, critical edition, with elaborate introduction and scholarly notes by Zarncke, 1854; more recent and convenient, *Das Narrenschiff*, edited by Goedeke, 1872. A translation into the German of to-day is given by Simrock, 1872. Barclay's version in English, — a very diffuse adaptation of the original, — first published in 1509, was beautifully reprinted in two volumes in 1874. This edition is especially noteworthy on account of the admirable reproductions of the original woodcuts, in which Brant himself took great interest and which are often more humorous than the text itself.

Danger from the Turks.

Till he drink of Christian blood full deep.
First plucked the wicked Saracen's hand
At Jerusalem and the Holy Land;
The Turk next tore so much away
To count it o'er were no child's play.
Then rose in arms, town after town,
And paid no heed to kaiser or crown.

Selfish policy of the European princes.

Last, the princes plucked the goose together,
For each of them must have a feather.
Small wonder is it, I declare,
If soon the Empire 's stripped and bare.
Ye princes, see the engulfing wave
In which ye too, perchance, may bathe;
For if the Empire goes to wreck
Methinks ye'll not stay long on deck.
Attend and mark me, who have ears;
Its course our ship full wildly steers;
If Christ no more our pilot be,
Ne'er shall we ride this storm-tossed sea.
. . . . . .
Come, princes! Ye, by God's decree,
Are placed above the rest, to be
Their heads and leaders; — if, indeed,
Instead of leading, you don't mislead.
Do what becomes your rank and station
To check this great abomination,
Lest sun and moon refuse us light
And we be lost in ruin's night.
Small heed ye pay, but ere I'm done
I promise ye that many a one
Who for my words now has no care
Shall yet, through me, a fool's cap wear.

Unsuitable persons made priests.

Every one is anxious to make his son a priest so that he may help support his relatives:

'Tis not the peasant's pious heart,
Nor wish to save his better part,

That bids him send his son away
Among the priestly ranks to stay.
Oh, no! 'T is that he may support
His relatives; — a thing, in short,
Full easy for a priest to do,
Who, though no book he ever knew,
Could still enjoy his benefice
And lead a merry life, I wis.
For priests no more than monkeys know
Of saving souls from realms below;
I would n't trust a cow to one,
Full sure she 'd either kick or run;
And as for matins or the mass,
I 'd rather hear the miller's ass
Take up the lute and try a song.
But the bishops do the greatest wrong
When they consent to consecration
Without a mite of education.[1]

Erasmus explains the character of his *Praise of Folly*.

Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* was written by a great scholar to please other scholars. Instead of Brant's jingling rhymes in the language of the people, we have elegant Latin prose with some admixture of Greek words and phrases and many a subtle classical allusion, which only the learned could enjoy. In his prefatory letter to Sir Thomas More, at whose home Erasmus finished writing *The Praise of Folly* in 1508, the author explains that he thought out the little volume on his way back

[1] Here is an example of Brant's style in modernized German:

Priesterschaft schätzt man so gering
Als wär' es ein gar leichtes Ding.
Drum findet man viel junger Pfaffen
Die so viel können wie die Affen,
Und sollen Seelen doch erbauen!
Kein Vieh wär' ihnen zu vertrauen;
Wissen so viel von Kirchenregieren
Als Müllers Esel vom Lautenieren.

from Italy. Some, he feared, might think the matter too trivial for a theologian like himself; to others his wit might seem more acrid than befitted a Christian. But many great men had joked about human foibles before him. He was only amusing himself in any case. "Moreover, is it not unfair that we should permit those in all walks of life to play except the scholar, especially since trivial matters often lead us to serious considerations and since ludicrous things can be so treated that the reader will sometimes gain more benefit from them — if he is not too stupid — than from the gravest and most elaborate argumentation?" He praises Folly, but not altogether foolishly.[1] He mentions no names and has avoided acerbity, which, as he points out, is by no means true of St. Jerome's satirical letters.

Erasmus could deal freely with the weaknesses of prelates and princes, of theologians and monks, because he was addressing the learned in a learned language; and then his bantering tone protected him from serious condemnation, for he has Folly step into the pulpit and assert her right to have her say. She claims that although men erect no altars to her, they all worship her and owe most of their happiness to the comfortable illusions and self-complacency which she grants them.

Folly, it should be noted, is by no means the same person throughout the little book; sometimes she represents stupidity, sometimes silliness, sometimes she seems to stand for an amiable simplicity or naïveté,

[1] How neatly he says in his preface: Ut enim nihil nugacius quam seria nugatorie tractare; ita nihil festivius quam ita tractare nugas ut nihil minus quam nugatus fuisse videaris. The prefatory letter is addressed to More, whose name suggested the Greek title of *The Praise of Folly: Encomium Moriae.*

which does not take life too seriously or involve itself in needless complications.[1]

237. Extracts from *The Praise of Folly*.

[After holding up to ridicule the kind of person who is always telling, or listening to, ghost stories and tales of prodigies and miracles, Erasmus continues:] To this same class of fools belong those who beguile themselves with the silly but pleasing notion that if they look upon a picture or image of St. Christopher, — that huge Polyphemus, — they will not die that day; or that he who salutes an image of St. Barbara with the proper form of address will come back from battle safe; or that one who approaches St. Erasmus on certain days with wax candles and prayers will soon be rich. They have found a new Hercules in St. George, — a sort of second Hippolytus. They seem to adore even his horse, which is scrupulously decked out with gorgeous trappings, and additional offerings are constantly being made in the hope of gaining new favors. His bronze helmet one would think half divine, the way people swear by it.

Adoration of the saints.

And what shall I say of those who comfortably delude themselves with imaginary pardons for their sins, and who measure the time in purgatory with an hourglass into years, months, days, and hours, with all the precision of a mathematical table? There are plenty, too, who, relying upon certain magical little certificates and prayers, — which some pious impostor devised either in fun or for the benefit of his pocket, — believe that they may procure riches, honor, future happiness, health, perpetual prosperity, long life, a lusty old age, — nay, in the end, a seat at the right hand of Christ in heaven; but as for this last, it matters not how

Indulgences.

[1] There is an old English translation of *The Praise of Folly*, with illustrations by Erasmus' friend Holbein, the great German painter. This has been several times reprinted, and is not hard to obtain. The translation is spirited, but recklessly free, since many sentences are added which have no equivalent in the original. While it is too inaccurate to be reproduced here, it nevertheless gives a good idea of the scope of the work and even of Erasmus' style of treatment.

long it be deferred: they will content themselves with the joys of heaven only when they must finally surrender the pleasures of this world, to which they lovingly cling.

The trader, the soldier, and the judge think that they can clean up the Augean stable of a lifetime, once for all, by sacrificing a single coin from their ill-gotten gains. They flatter themselves that all sorts of perjury, debauchery, drunkenness, quarrels, bloodshed, imposture, perfidy, and treason can be compounded for by contract and so adjusted that, having paid off their arrears, they can begin a new score.

How foolish, or rather how happy, are those who promise themselves more than supernal happiness if they repeat the verses of the seven holy psalms! Those magical lines are supposed to have been taught to St. Bernard by a demon, who seems to have been a wag; but he was not very clever, and, poor fellow, was frustrated in his attempt to deceive the saint. These silly things which even I, Folly, am almost ashamed of, are approved not only by the common herd but even by the teachers of religion.

Petitioning the saints.

How foolish, too, for religious bodies each to give preference to its particular guardian saint! Nay, each saint has his particular office allotted to him, and is addressed each in his special way: this one is called upon to alleviate toothache; that, to aid in childbirth; others, to restore a stolen article, bring rescue to the shipwrecked, or protect cattle, — and so on with the rest, who are much too numerous to mention. A few indeed among the saints are good in more than one emergency, especially the Holy Virgin, to whom the common man now attributes almost more than to her Son.

And for what, after all, do men petition the saints except for foolish things? Look at the votive offerings which cover the walls of certain churches and with which you see even the ceiling filled; do you find any one who expresses his gratitude that he has escaped Folly or because he has become a whit wiser? One perhaps was saved from drowning, another recovered when he had been run through by

his enemy; another, while his fellows were fighting, ran away with expedition and success; another, on the point of being hanged, escaped, through the aid of some saintly friend of thieves, and lived to relieve a few more of those whom he believed to be overburdened with their wealth. . . .

These various forms of foolishness so pervade the whole life of Christians that even the priests themselves find no objection to admitting, not to say fostering, them, since they do not fail to perceive how many tidy little sums accrue to them from such sources. But what if some odious philosopher should chime in and say, as is quite true: "You will not die badly if you live well. You are redeeming your sins when you add to the sum that you contribute a hearty detestation of evil doers: then you may spare yourself tears, vigils, invocations, fasts, and all that kind of life. You may rely upon any saint to aid you when once you begin to imitate his life."

The scholastic theologians.

As for the theologians, perhaps the less said the better on this gloomy and dangerous theme, since they are a style of man who show themselves exceeding supercilious and irritable unless they can heap up six hundred conclusions about you and force you to recant; and if you refuse, they promptly brand you as a heretic, — for it is their custom to terrify by their thunderings those whom they dislike. It must be confessed that no other group of fools are so reluctant to acknowledge Folly's benefits toward them, although I have many titles to their gratitude, for I make them so in love with themselves that they seem to be happily exalted to the third heaven, whence they look down with something like pity upon all other mortals, wandering about on the earth like mere cattle.

Scholastic disputations.

Then they hedge themselves about with such an array of magisterial definitions, conclusions, corollaries, propositions explicate and implicate, and do so abound in subterfuges, that chains forged by Vulcan himself could not hold them so firm but that they could escape by one of those distinctions which enable them to cut all knots as easily as with a two-edged ax, so readily do they think up and rattle out new and prodigious terms and expressions.

Finally, the theologians are at their best when they are explaining (in their own opinion) such deep mysteries as: How was the world founded and brought into order? How is original sin transmitted to posterity? . . . How can the accidents subsist in the eucharist without their substance? Nay, these are trite and easy questions. The great and illustrious theologians, as they dub themselves, will only awaken when something like the following is proposed: Does supernatural generation require time for its accomplishment? Has Christ a double relation of sonship? Is the proposition possible, "God the Father hates the Son"? Might God have chosen to assume the form of a woman, a devil, an ass, a gourd, or a stone? . . .

The theologians set themselves above St. Paul and the apostles.

St. Paul, they admit, was distinguished for his faith, but nevertheless when he said, "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," he defined it but inaccurately. He may have excelled in charity, yet he fails to limit and define it with dialectic precision in his first letter to the Corinthians, Chapter xiii. The disciples administered the eucharist reverently, and yet had they been asked about the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of transubstantiation; as to how a body can be in two places at the same time; of the differences which exist between Christ's body in heaven, on the cross, and in the holy wafer; or at what point does transubstantiation occur, since the prayer through which it is effected is, as a *quantitas discreta*, in a state of flux, — asked of these matters the apostles would not have replied with the acuteness with which the followers of Scotus distinguish and define these subtleties.

The apostles knew the mother of Jesus, but who of them could philosophically prove how she was preserved from the sin of Eve, as do our divines? Peter received the keys, and from one who would not commit them to unworthy hands, but whether or not he knew how one could have the key of knowledge without knowledge itself, he certainly never discussed the matter. The apostles baptized, but never taught the formal, material, efficient, or final cause of baptism, nor do they mention delible or indelible characters. . . . The

apostles inculcated grace, but never distinguished between *gratia gratis data* and *gratia gratificans*. They exhorted to good works, but did not perceive the distinction between *opus operans* and *opus operatum*. They frequently urge charity upon us without dividing "infused" from "acquired," or explaining whether charity be an accident or a substance, a created or an uncreated thing.

The monks.

Next to the theologians in their self-satisfaction may be ranked those who are commonly called the religious and the monks, both terms quite wide of the truth, since a good part of them are a long ways from religion, and as for the monks (whose name suggests solitude), they are to be met in every byway. I do not see who could be more miserable than they unless Folly came to their aid in many ways. Although every one so execrates that stripe of man that even a casual meeting with them is regarded as ominous, yet they have a magnificent idea of their own virtues. First they deem it the most exalted piety to have let learning so completely alone that they cannot even read. Then when they bray out the psalms — which they cannot understand — in the churches, they flatter themselves that they are delighting the ears of the saints with their sweet harmonies. Some of them laud their beggary and filth as great virtues and loudly clamor for bread from door to door. They beset the inns, coaches, and ships, not a little to the prejudice of other beggars. . . .

Confidence of the monks in mere ceremonies and externals.

The greater part of the monks exhibit such confidence in ceremonies and trivial human traditions that one would think a single heaven would scarce suffice as a worthy reward for their merits. They little think that Christ will put them off with a "Who hath required these things at your hands?" and will call them to account only for the stewardship of his legacy of love. One will confidently call attention to his paunch, filled with all kinds of fish; another will pour out a hundred bushels of psalms; a third will enumerate his myriad fastings and will tell how a single meal nearly killed him; a fourth will produce as many ceremonies as would fill seven merchant ships; a fifth will plead that for threescore years he never so much as touched money except he

fingered it through double thick gloves; a sixth will bring along his hood so old and nasty that no sailor would venture to protect himself with it. . . . But Christ shall interrupt their boastings: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees! I left you one great precept, but of that alone I hear nothing from you. I told you plainly in my gospel, with no disguising parables, that my Father's kingdom was promised, not for cowls, petitions, and fastings, but for deeds of love. I know them not who rely on their own merits." . . . When the monks and friars shall hear these things and shall see simple sailors and carters preferred to them, how shall their faces fall as they look at one another!

III. The "Letters of Obscure Men"

Origin of the *Letters of Obscure Men.*

John Reuchlin, the famous Hebrew scholar, became involved in a controversy with some of the more fanatical and intolerant monks and theologians, who were bent on seizing and destroying the books of the Jews, which they declared were full of attacks on Christianity. Reuchlin thought that only harm could come from such a policy, and he was led to defend himself and his position with much warmth in a little book which he called the *Augenspiegel.* This came into the hands of the theological faculty of Cologne, which drew up a list of heretical propositions found therein; and Ortuin Gratius, one of the members of the faculty, added an appendix of Latin verses. Reuchlin was summoned before Hochstraten, the inquisitor general, to answer the charges against him, but appealed to the pope, who referred the case to the bishop of Speyer. This prelate declared the book free from heresy. Then Hochstraten, in his turn, appealed to Rome, where the case was pending when the *Letters of Obscure Men* appeared.

The prosecution and trial of Reuchlin created a great deal of excitement in Germany among literary men. In March, 1514, Reuchlin had published a collection of the letters of sympathy which he had received, under the title, *Letters of Distinguished Men, addressed to John Reuchlin.* These suggested to Crotus Rubeanus, a famous humanist at Erfurt, and his friends a method of attacking the theological party by means of a series of letters purporting to be written to the above-mentioned Ortuin Gratius by his simple admirers and disciples. The modest title, *Letters of Obscure Men*, recommended itself as antithetical to that of the boastful collection of the letters of distinguished contemporaries which Reuchlin had issued. The first series was published in 1515, and the second series, in which Ulrich von Hutten doubtless had a hand, in 1517.

The bad Latin, the fruitless quibbles, the naïve confessions of habitual looseness of life, and the hate which the theologians bore towards Reuchlin and the whole tribe of humanists, form the chief interest and the ever-recurring themes of the letters. The wit is in turn good, bad, and indifferent. The general conception of the work is perhaps its most delicately humorous feature.

238. Examples of the *Letters of Obscure Men.*

Henricus Schaffsmulius to Master Ortuin Gratius, many salutations:

When I first went to the Curia you told me that I should write to you frequently and address any theological questions to you, for you wished to answer them more satisfactorily than could those about the papal court at Rome. I, therefore, wish now to ask your opinion in the case of one who should on Friday, which is the sixth day, or upon any other fast day, eat an egg in which there is a chick. For we were recently dining at an inn in the Campo Fiore, and were

eating eggs. And I, opening my egg, discovered that there was a chick within; but upon showing it to my companion, he urged me to swallow it straightway before the host caught sight of it, for otherwise I should have to pay a Carolinus or a Julius for a fowl, since it is the custom here to pay for everything the host places on the table, because they will take nothing back. Now if he saw that there was a chick in the egg he would say, "You must pay me for a fowl," — for he would charge for a little one just as much as he would for a big one.

And I immediately swallowed the egg and the chick at the same time, and afterwards it occurred to me that it was Friday, and I said to my companion, "You have caused me to commit a mortal sin in eating meat on Friday."

But he said that it was not a mortal sin, nor even a venial sin, since a chick may not be considered other than an egg until it is born. And he remarked that it is just the same in the case of cheese in which there are worms, and of the worms in cherries, and in peas, and young beans; but they are eaten on the sixth day, and even on the vigils of the apostles. But inn proprietors are such rascals that they sometimes say that these are meat in order to gain thereby.

Then I went out and thought about it, and, by Heaven, Master Ortuin, I am much disturbed, and I do not know what I ought to do about it. It is true that I might take counsel with a member of the papal court, but I know that they have bad consciences. As for myself, it seems to me that chicks in the egg are meat, because the matter is already formed and shaped into the members and body of an animal, and it has animal life. It is otherwise in the case of worms in cheese and in other comestibles, for worms are accounted to be fish, as I have heard from a physician, who is also a very able scientist.

I beseech of you earnestly to reply to my question. For if you hold that it is a mortal sin, then I wish to seek absolution before I go to Germany; for you probably know that our lord, Jacob Hochstraten, borrowed a thousand florins from the bank, and I believe he would want to make

something out of the case; and may the devil take that John Reuchlin and those other poets and men of law, who are trying to fight the Church of God — that is to say, the theologians, who are the real backbone of the Church, as Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church."

May the Lord God preserve you. Farewell.
Written in the city of Rome.

Philip Schneider of Erfurt to Master Ortuin Gratius:

I honorably salute my honorable and venerable master. You wrote to me lately that a certain poet in Germany, called Erasmus of Rotterdam, had composed many books and had especially composed a letter to the pope in which he commended John Reuchlin. You know I saw that letter. And I have seen another big book called *The New Testament*,[1] and he sent that book to the pope, and I think that he would be glad if the pope would approve the book. But I hope that he will not. For the master of the sacred palace is a notable man of much reputation; he says that he can prove that Erasmus is a heretic because in some passages he attacks that holy doctor and will not support the theologians. Besides the *New Testament* the same writer has published something called Erasmus' *Folly*, which contains many scandalous propositions which are not reverent, and it sometimes contains open blasphemies. For this reason the Paris theologians wanted to burn such a book. So I do not believe that the pope will approve that new big book.

Even our master Jacob Hochstraten is in good spirits. Yesterday he invited me to dinner and told me that a cardinal told him that he would win his case. But John Wick, who is John Reuchlin's lawyer, presses him hard. I was once present when Master Jacob said to him, "You are against me, but believe me, if I come out ahead, you will not be safe anywhere in Germany." Again he said to him, "I know that Reuchlin has not money enough to pay you,

[1] Erasmus had published his edition of the Greek New Testament a few months before this was written.

and yet you are so rash as to turn our whole order against you." There is one thing more. Dr. Martin Groningen proposes to translate the *Augenspiegel.* I understand that our master Jacob has recently given him a hundred ducats to falsify the text of the book, and if he does so then you will win. And I hope that he will do it. Write me anything which comes to your attention. Adieu.

From Rome.

One of the "obscure men," Philip Schlauraff, in a long journey about Germany met many humanists who treated him badly. At Strasburg he came upon Brant, who wanted to see him off to Fool-land.

Venit Sebastianus Brant,
Der nam mich bei der Hand
Dicens "mihi sequere:
Nos volumus navigare
Ab hinc in Narragoniam
Propter tuam stultitiam."[1]

[1] The opening of one of the obscure men's letters will appeal to any one somewhat versed in classical Latin:

Lyra Buntschumacherius, ordinis predicatorum theologus Guillermo Hackineto, qui est theologorum theologissimus, Salutem dicit.

Vos scripsistis mihi ex Anglia de Londino unam longam litteram pulchre latinisatam, in qua petivistis quod deberem vobis scribere unam novitatem sive bonam, sive malam, quia estis naturaliter inclinatus ad audiendum nova: sicut faciunt omnes qui sunt de complexione sanguinea, et audient libenter cantilenas musicales, ac in mensa sunt lete mentis. Ego fui valde letatus, quando accepi vestram litteram sicut qui invenit unam preciosam margaritam, et ostendi eam dominis meis Joanni Grocino et Linacro dicens: "Videte, domini mei, videte, nonne iste magister noster formalis in latinisando et componendo dictamina (i.e. compositions), et arte epistolandi?" Et juraverunt quod non possunt similes epistolas componere in arte latinitatis, quamvis sunt poete greci et latini. Et extulerunt vos super omnes qui sunt in Anglia, Francia, Germania, et omni natione que sub celo est. . . .

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C. Materials for advanced study.

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SCHULTE, *Die Fugger in Rom, 1495–1523* (zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Finanzwesens), Vol. I, 1904.

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DACHEUX, *Un Réformateur catholique, Jean Geiler, 1478–1510* (1876). An account of a famous and influential preacher.

The sources.

HASAK, *Der christlichen Glaube des deutschen Volkes beim Schlusse des Mittelalters* (1868). A remarkable and illuminating collection of extracts from the popular works of edification before Luther's tracts began to appear.

ULRICH VON HUTTEN, *Werke*, edited by Boecking, 5 vols. A mine of information for the literary conditions. Hutten's dialogues (*Gesprächbüchlein*) have been reprinted (Dresden, 1905).

REUCHLIN, *Briefwechsel*, 1875 (edited by Geiger in the *Bibliothek des Stuttgarter Literarischen Vereins*, Vol. CXXVI). Also GEIGER, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, 1871.

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Few will care to make a more careful study of the political conditions and history than can be based on RANKE, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*. The sources are enumerated in WAITZ–DAHLMANN, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, also in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I, pp. 734 *sq.*

CHAPTER XXV

MARTIN LUTHER AND HIS REVOLT AGAINST THE CHURCH

I. The Preaching of Indulgences

The proclamation of a papal indulgence in 1517.

The archbishop of Mayence arranged with Pope Leo X in 1515 to conduct the distribution throughout his vast archbishoprics of Mayence and Magdeburg of the indulgences granted by the pope. The archbishop was to have half the contributions made for them, and the rest of the money was to go to the rebuilding of the great central shrine of Christendom, St. Peter's at Rome.[1] This plan was not carried out until 1517. Extracts from the "Instructions" prepared for those who were to proclaim the indulgences are given below. They furnish an official account of the indulgence and, according to a distinguished Roman Catholic historian,[2] they corresponded with the teaching of the Church.

The papal bull which granted the indulgence added three other graces and privileges, which might be procured either separately or together with the indulgence.

[1] See *History of Western Europe*, § 126 (opening), and *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 539 *sqq*.

[2] Cardinal Hergenröther, in his continuation of Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte*, Vol. IX, p. 11. Yet it would seem as if one would get an exaggerated idea of the value of an indulgence from reading the "Instructions," for they promise "the complete remission of all sins," while the more careful theologians taught that the indulgence only remitted the penalties which remained after the sinner had received forgiveness of his guilt through contrition, confession, and absolution. See *History of Western Europe*, § 142.

Preachers are ordered "to commend each to believers with the greatest care and, in so far as they can, explain the same."

239. An official account of indulgences, taken from the "Instructions" issued to those who were to proclaim them in Germany.

The first grace is the complete remission of all sins; and nothing greater than this can be named, since man, who lives in sin and forfeits the favor of God, obtains complete remission by these means and once more enjoys God's favor; moreover, through this remission of sins the punishment which one is obliged to undergo in purgatory on account of the affront to the Divine Majesty is all remitted, and the pains of purgatory completely blotted out. And although nothing is precious enough to be given in exchange for such a grace, — since it is a free gift of God and a grace beyond price, — yet in order that Christian believers may be the more easily induced to procure the same, we establish the following rules, to wit:

Conditions necessary for receiving indulgences.

In the first place, every one who is contrite in heart, and has made oral confession, — or at all events has the intention of confessing at a suitable time, — shall visit at least the seven churches indicated for this purpose, to wit, those in which the papal arms are displayed, and in each church shall say five paternosters and five Ave Marias in honor of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby our salvation is won, or one Miserere, which psalm is particularly well adapted for obtaining forgiveness of sins.

Sick or otherwise incapacitated persons shall visit with the same devotion and prayers, the seven altars, which the commissioners and subcommissioners shall have erected in the church where the cross shall be raised, and on which they shall have affixed the papal arms.

Where, however, persons are found so weak that they cannot conveniently come to such a church, then shall their confessor or penitentiary cause an altar to be brought to a convenient place approved by him. And where such persons visit this place and offer up their prayers near the altar or before it, they shall deserve the indulgence as though they had visited the seven churches. . . .

Contributions made for indulgences.

Respecting, now, the contribution to the chest, for the building of the said church of the chief of the apostles, the penitentiaries and confessors, after they have explained to those making confession the full remission and privileges, shall ask of them for how much money or other temporal goods they would conscientiously go without the said most complete remission and privileges; and this shall be done in order that hereafter they may be brought the more easily to contribute. And because the conditions and occupations of men are so manifold and diverse that we cannot consider them individually, and impose specific rates accordingly, we have therefore concluded that the rates should be determined according to the recognized classes of persons.

Kings and queens and their offspring, archbishops and bishops, and other great rulers, provided they seek the places where the cross is raised, or otherwise present themselves, shall pay at least five and twenty Rhenish guilders in gold. Abbots and the great prelates of cathedral churches, counts, barons, and others of the higher nobility, together with their consorts, shall pay for each letter of indulgence ten such guilders. Other lesser prelates and nobles, as also the rectors of celebrated places, and all others who, either from permanent incomes or merchandise, or otherwise, enjoy a total yearly revenue of five hundred gold guilders, shall pay six such guilders. Other citizens and tradespeople and artisans, who have individual incomes and families of their own, shall pay one such guilder; those of less means, only a half. . . .

The very poor to be excused from making a contribution.

All other persons are confided to the discretion of the confessors and penitentiaries, who should have ever in view the advancement of this building, and should urge their penitents to a free contribution, but should let no one go away without some portion of grace, because the happiness of Christian believers is here concerned not less than the interests of the building. And those that have no money shall supply their contribution with prayer and fasting; for the kingdom of heaven should be open to the poor not less than to the rich. . . .

Confessional letters (summarized).

[The second signal grace is a "confessional letter," that is, a permit to choose any qualified confessor, even a mendicant friar, instead of one's parish priest or other regular confessor. Moreover the confessor chosen shall have power to absolve those holding the confessional permits in cases when the ordinary confessor would be powerless, — for example, for offenses which are usually "reserved" for consideration by the pope.]

Participation in the spiritual treasures of the Church.

The third most important grace is the participation in all the possessions of the Church universal; which consists herein, that contributors toward the said building, together with their deceased relatives, who have departed this world in a state of grace, shall from now on, and for eternity, be partakers in all petitions, intercessions, alms, fastings, prayers, in each and every pilgrimage, even those to the Holy Land; furthermore, in the stations at Rome, in masses, canonical hours, flagellations, and all other spiritual goods which have been, or shall be, brought forth by the universal, most holy Church militant or by any of its members. Believers who purchase confessional letters may also become participants in all these things. Preachers and confessors must insist with great perseverance upon these advantages, and persuade believers not to neglect to acquire these benefits along with their confessional letter.

We also declare that in order to obtain these two most important graces, it is not necessary to make confession, or to visit the churches and altars, but merely to procure the confessional letter. . . .

Indulgences for the dead in purgatory.

The fourth distinctive grace is for those souls which are in purgatory, and is the complete remission of all sins, which remission the pope brings to pass through his intercession, to the advantage of said souls, in this wise: that the same contribution shall be placed in the chest by a living person as one would make for himself. It is our wish, however, that our subcommissioners should modify the regulations regarding contributions of this kind which are given for the dead, and that they should use their judgment in all other cases, where, in their opinion, modifications are desirable.

It is, furthermore, not necessary that the persons who place their contributions in the chest for the dead should be contrite in heart and have orally confessed, since this grace is based simply on the state of grace in which the dead departed, and on the contribution of the living, as is evident from the text of the bull. Moreover preachers shall exert themselves to give this grace the widest publicity, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time. . . .

II. Luther's Ninety-five Theses concerning Indulgences (1517)

Purpose of Luther in drafting his theses.

Luther did not intend his theses to be a complete and final declaration of his beliefs in regard to salvation. He had been deeply disturbed by the talk that he heard about indulgences, the importance of which appeared to him to be grossly overrated. The loud praise of them he thought certain to blind the great body of Christians to more fundamental matters. So with the hope of bringing an ill-understood question to the attention of university men, he hastily drafted in Latin certain propositions involving the chief points; these he posted up, as was the custom, where they might catch the eye of those interested.

He was himself by no means certain of his conclusions, for he said later of the theses: "There is much in them concerning which I am doubtful; much else that I do not understand; other things of which I am not persuaded, and nothing that I stubbornly adhere to; for I submit everything to Holy Church and her judgment." In a letter to Leo X, written six months after the posting of the theses, he expresses his surprise and regret

that they should have been so widely circulated, for they were "somewhat obscurely expressed, as was the custom in such cases," so that the defender could not be easily driven into a corner. Had he foreseen their general diffusion, he would have tried to be clearer. Yet there is no doubt that they really expressed his general convictions, which he did not realize at that time were in any way opposed to the teachings of the Catholic Church.

240. Examples of Luther's ninety-five theses.

In the desire and with the purpose of elucidating the truth, a disputation will be held on the underwritten propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, monk of the order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and ordinary lecturer in the same at that place. He therefore asks those who cannot be present and discuss the subject with us orally to do so by letter in their absence. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Meaning of *poenitentia* defined.

1. Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying "Repent ye"[1] [*poenitentiam agite*], etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence [*poenitentia*].

2. This word cannot be understood as sacramental penance, that is, the confession and satisfaction which are performed under the ministry of priests.

3. It does not, on the other hand, refer solely to inward penitence; nay, such inward penitence is naught, unless it outwardly produces various mortifications of the flesh.

[1] The theologians of Luther's time appear to have used the same word, *poenitentia*, for both penitence and penance. The words of Christ, "Repent ye," are translated in the Vulgate *poenitentiam agite*, which is good Latin for "Be sorry," but looked to a careless reader of Luther's time like "Do ye penance." Erasmus notices this misapprehension in his edition of the New Testament, published the year before Luther's theses.

4. The penalty [for sin] must thus continue as long as the hatred of self — that is, true inward penitence; namely, till our entrance into the kingdom of heaven.

5. The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties except those which he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.

6. The pope has no power to remit any guilt, except by declaring and warranting it to have been remitted by God; or at most by remitting cases reserved for himself; in which cases, if his power were despised, guilt would certainly remain.

7. Certainly God remits no man's guilt without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative, the priest.

Wrong notions of the nature of indulgences.

20. Therefore the pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, does not mean really of all, but only of those imposed by himself.

21. Thus those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that by the indulgences of the pope a man is freed and saved from all punishment.

23. If any entire remission of all penalties can be granted to any one, it is certain that it is granted to none but the most perfect, — that is, to very few.

27. They preach man [rather than God] who say that the soul flies out of purgatory as soon as the money rattles in the chest.

28. It is certain that, when the money rattles in the chest, avarice and gain may be increased, but the effect of the intercession of the Church depends on the will of God alone.

39. It is a very difficult thing, even for the most learned theologians, to exalt at the same time, in the eyes of the people, the ample effect of pardons and the necessity of true contrition.

40. True contrition seeks and loves punishment, while the ampleness of pardons relaxes it and causes men to hate it, or at least gives occasion for them to do so.

43. Christians should be taught that he who gives to a poor man, or lends to a needy man, does better than if he bought pardons.

44. Because by works of charity, charity increases and the man becomes better, while by means of pardons he does not become better, but only freer from punishment.

50. Christians should be taught that, if the pope were acquainted with the exactions of the preachers of pardons, he would prefer that the basilica of St. Peter should be burnt to ashes rather than that it should be built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep.

51. Christians should be taught that as it would be the duty, so it would be the wish of the pope even to sell, if necessary, the basilica of St. Peter, as well as to give of his own money to very many of those from whom the preachers of pardons extract money.

The treasures of the Church.

56. The treasures of the Church,[1] whence the pope grants indulgences, are neither sufficiently discussed nor understood among the people of Christ.

57. It is clear that they are at least not temporal treasures, for these are not so readily lavished, but only accumulated, by many of the preachers.

62. The true treasure of the Church is the holy gospel of the glory and grace of God.

63. This treasure, however, is naturally most hateful, because it makes the first to be last;

64. While the treasure of indulgences is naturally most acceptable, because it makes the last to be first.

[1] See *History of Western Europe*, § 136 (end).

81. This license in the preaching of pardons makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the pope against the calumnies, or, at all events, the keen questionings of the laity. Keen questionings of the laity.

82. As, for instance: Why does not the pope empty purgatory for the sake of his most holy charity and of the supreme necessity of souls, — this being the most just of all reasons, — if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of that most fatal thing, money, to be spent on building a basilica, — this being a very slight reason?

86. Again: Why does not the pope, whose riches are at this day more ample than those of Crœsus, build the basilica of St. Peter with his own money rather than with that of poor believers?

88. Again: What greater good could the Church receive than if the pope were to bestow these remissions and participations a hundred times a day, instead of once, as he does now, on any one of the faithful?

90. To repress these scruples and arguments of the laity by force alone, and not to solve them by giving reasons, is to expose the Church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies, and to make Christian men unhappy.

91. If then pardons were preached according to the spirit and wish of the pope, all these questions would be solved with ease; nay, would not exist.

III. Letter of Warning to Luther from one of Erasmus' Friends

The great Erasmus and his friends took some interest in Luther at first, although many of them were later alienated by his rashness and by certain of his doctrines.[1] The following letter from a distinguished

[1] For the attitude of Erasmus toward Luther three years later, see below, p. 89.

humanist, Capito, written from Basel, September 4, 1518, clearly shows the attitude of Erasmus and his circle.

Greeting:

241. Letter of warning to Luther from Capito.

I replied from Strasburg to the letter that you kindly wrote to me recently, and I added at the same time Erasmus' opinion of you, and described his frank and gratifying admiration of your discussion of indulgences. In the meantime I have seen your sermon on Penitence and another on Indulgences and Faith, both in the most obvious opposition to the received customs of our time. I was astounded, in my friendly solicitude, to see you exposing your unprotected body to the dense array of the enemy, even if you do appear to be fully equipped with the arms of truth. You will, I much fear, be attacked with other weapons, and the danger is that the question will be settled by force.

If you will deign to lend an ear to the counsels of one who has had much experience in these matters, I would warn you to adopt the tactics of Sertorius. Believe me, you can undermine gradually what you can never overthrow by force. Your enemies hold a citadel which, as you see, is protected on every side. Behind a triple line of defense and beyond the range of missiles they are snoring peacefully. Their threefold safety lies in the authority of the pope (that is, of the Church universal), in the potent arm of the despots, and in the persistent support of the universities.

Surely you will never succeed in breaking this diabolically stout rope. It would need another Alexander to cut this Gordian knot with the sword; the problem is how to do it by mere skill or reason. Simple, pious folk meekly follow the beck and nod of our counterfeit Church. The more thoughtful have had their spirit quenched by its tyranny. As for us, the theologians, who loudly proclaim our special sanctity and knowledge of Christ, we constantly compromise his cause by our arrogance. We take advantage of all the abuses in religion and under the guise of piety we decently guard our own interests.

Consequently I beg of you, lest this noble enterprise of yours come to naught, to resort to a little dissimulation, so that you may get your hook well fixed in your reader before he suspects your object. The apostles followed this plan, never pressing anything openly and always maintaining a dignified and kindly bearing. St. Paul resorts to similar devices in his Epistle to the Romans. How dexterously he maneuvers in order to keep their favor! He advances, withdraws, dissimulates, shows the divine treasure from afar, but carefully veils it. In short, he so skillfully balances his presentation that he neither irritates nor wearies his readers. The Acts of the Apostles abound with examples of his skill. . . .[1]

Thus by indirect means important results may be gained. So I would have you always keep open a safe exit by which you can escape when in danger, — even if but too hard pressed in discussion.

Recently I received a book by Silvester Prierius,[2] which he has absurdly enough directed against your treatment of indulgences. If you are going to reply, I would have you do so in prudent language and so reflect the true spirit of Christ as he appears in the Gospels. You should dwell upon the origin and growth of our religion, the original customs, the nature of hardened error, and the varying decrees of popes and councils, so that your presentation may be visibly confirmed as coming directly from the fountain of truth.

Then remember that certain kinds of nonsense are frequently better dispelled by a laugh than by laborious effort. Be very careful withal not to attack the pope himself, but lay all the blame on Prierius for his impudent adulation, and for suggesting motives unworthy of the papal dignity, simply in the interest of his own belly. Oppose yourself to

[1] Capito here recalls, for Luther's guidance, the stratagem of Paul, who, when surrounded by a hostile multitude, brought up the question of the resurrection, and so set the Pharisees and Sadducees by the ears and gained the support of the former (Acts xxiii. 6–9).

[2] Prierius was connected with the papal court, and was the first to attack Luther's theses in a very irritating pamphlet.

the unblushing sycophants, as if you were endeavoring to cut off the opportunity for evil. Where, as you write, you seem to see a chance for them to reply, block the way, so that they cannot reach you to strike back.

But whither am I being carried by the zeal of friendship, as if I were your master and laying down rules for you? Condone my offense, I beg of you. You are not without helpers: Andreas Carlstadt, George Spalatin, John Egranus, and Philip Melanchthon, — the latter a miracle of ability, — to whom, if you communicate your plans, you will publish nothing weak or which can be criticised.

But why all this long message from me, except perhaps that it clearly proves my sincere interest in you. . . .

Adieu.

Yours,

Whom you will recognize.

Basel, September 4, 1518.

IV. The Disputation at Leipzig (1519)

Eck, Luther's opponent in the Leipzig disputation, gives a good brief account of Luther's conduct in the affair in a letter to Hochstraten, the inquisitor general.[1] Toward two years had elapsed since the posting up of the theses, and it will be readily seen from Eck's letter that Luther had made a good deal of progress on his way toward revolt.

242. Eck's report to Hochstraten concerning the Leipzig disputation.

It has not escaped you, reverend Father, in what manner I have thus far opposed the rash men of Wittenberg, who despise all the teachers of four hundred years, however saintly and learned, and disseminate many false and erroneous things among the people, especially the powerful leader in this uproar, who seduces and corrupts the common people through publications in our language.

[1] See above, p. 46.

We have recently held a disputation at Leipzig, before a great audience of most learned men, coming together from all parts, by which (praise, honor, and glory to God!) the reputation of the Wittenberg party has been very much lessened even among the common people, while among the learned it is for the most part quite gone. You should have heard the rashness of the men, how blind they are and how undaunted in their wickedness.

Luther denies that Peter was the chief of the apostles; he declares that ecclesiastical obedience is not of divine right, but that it was brought in by human appointment or that of the emperor. He denies that the Church was built upon Peter: "Upon this rock," etc. And though I quoted to him Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Leo and Bernard, with Theophilus, he contradicted them all without a blush; and said that he would stand alone against a thousand, though supported by no other, because Christ only is the foundation of the Church, for other foundation can no man lay. I demolished that by quoting Revelations xii, about the twelve foundations, whereupon he defended the Greeks and schismatics, saying that even if they are not under obedience to the pope, still they are saved.

Concerning the tenets of the Bohemians, he said that some of those teachings condemned in the council of Constance are most Christian and evangelical; by which rash error he frightened away and caused to desert him many who before were his supporters.

Among other things, when I pressed upon him, "If the power of the pope is only of human right and by the consent of believers, whence comes your monk's costume that you wear? Whence have you the power of preaching and of hearing the confessions of your parishioners," etc., he replied that he wished there were no order of mendicants, and said many other scandalous and absurd things: that a council, because they are men, can err; that it is not proved from sacred Scripture that there is a purgatory, etc., — all this you will see by reading our disputation, since it was written down by most faithful notaries. . . .

V. Luther on Good Works

Luther emphasized so constantly and fervently salvation through simple faith in God's promises, and spoke so lightly of "good works," such as fasts, pilgrimages, attendance at masses, alms, gifts to the Church, etc., that his opponents declared that he cared not how a man acted if only he had faith. Luther explains his position very clearly in the following passages from a little treatise *On Good Works*, which he wrote in German early in 1520 and dedicated to his prince, the elector of Saxony.

243. Luther's idea of good works and justification by faith.

The first, highest, and noblest of all good works is to believe in Christ, as he himself answered in John, chapter vi, when the Jews asked him, "What must we do, that we may work the works of God?" "Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent." Now when we hear this, or preach it to others, we run over it lightly, regarding it as a very simple and easy thing, when we should stop long over it and ponder it well; for all works go back to this and receive all their goodness from it, as one might receive a fief from his lord. We must paint this in strong colors if every one is to see it clearly.

We find many who pray, fast, endow churches and monasteries, and do this, that, and the other, — who, in short, lead a good life before men; who, if you ask them whether they are sure that what they are doing is pleasing to God, say no, they know not, or are doubtful. Among these are some famous and learned men, who claim that it is not necessary to be sure that we are pleasing to God and who do nothing except urge good works. But we must see that the very same works done without faith are altogether dead and as nothing, for as your conscience stands toward God and believes in him, even so shall it be with your works,

which proceed from your faith. Now when there is no faith or good conscience toward God, works are headless and have no life or goodness. So it comes about that when I place faith so high and reject such unbelieving works, they accuse me of forbidding good works altogether, although I gladly extol the good works of faith.

Luther criticises the narrow conception of "good works."

If you ask my critics if they regard as good works laboring at one's trade, coming and going, eating, drinking, and sleeping, and all the other acts that help nourish the body or are generally useful, and whether they believe that God is pleased by such works, you will find that they say no, and limit good works so narrowly that they must consist in praying in church, fasting, or giving alms; other things they regard as actions which God does not esteem. By this damnable want of faith they reduce and diminish the service of God, whom all serve, who believe in him, in all that they say or think. And this the Preacher teaches, saying, "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God hath already accepted thy works. Let thy garments be always white; and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun." [1] To keep our garments white is to have all our works good, whatever they may be, without any distinction. And they will be white when we confidently believe that they are pleasing to God. . . .

We can understand this whole matter by an obvious human example. When husband and wife are fond of one another and live together in love and in confidence in one another, and each believes truly in the other, who shall teach them how they should act, what they should do or leave undone, say or not say, think or not think? Their own insight tells them all that need be, and more too. There is no distinction in their "works" for one another. They do the long, hard, and heavy tasks as willingly as the slight and easy things, and moreover they act with glad,

[1] Eccles. ix. 7–9.

peaceful, and secure hearts and are altogether free and unconstrained. But when doubt comes they begin to ask what is best, and begin to distinguish between their acts in order to gain the other's favor, and go about with troubled and heavy hearts, perhaps well-nigh in despair or driven to downright desperation.

So the Christian who lives in confidence toward God knows what things he should do, and does all gladly and freely, not with a view to accumulating merit and good works, but because it is his great joy to please God and to serve him without thought of reward, contented if he but do God's will.[1] On the contrary, he who is not at one with God, or is in doubt, will begin to be anxious how he may satisfy God and justify himself by his works. He runs off on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, to Rome, to Jerusalem, — here, there, anywhere; prays to St. Bridget, or some other saint, fasts this day and that, confesses here and confesses there, asks this man and that, but finds no peace.

VI. Ulrich von Hutten's Appeal to German Patriotism

Ulrich von Hutten attacks the clergy.

Ulrich von Hutten had returned from a sojourn in Italy filled with love and enthusiasm for his own German people and with dislike for the Italians, especially for the Roman curia. He probably knew little about the Leipzig disputation, and had no interest, in any case, in what the monks and theologians, whom he had just been making sport of in the *Letters of Obscure Men*,[2] might be saying about indulgences and purgatory. He busied

[1] This idea of "The Freedom of the Christian Man" is the subject of one of Luther's most celebrated tracts, written a few months later than these passages. It is translated in Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, pp. 104 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 46 *sqq.*

himself writing witty dialogues in Latin, exposing the iniquities of the clergy, and attacking the Roman curia in the name of German liberty and independence.

Hutten's *Fever the First.*

His first dialogue, *Fever the First,* is a satire on the luxurious lives of the clergy, suggested by what he saw of the pope's representative, Cardinal Cajetan, at the diet of Augsburg in 1518. Hutten wants to get rid of Fever, and suggests various places where he might be comfortable, — for example, with the cardinal, who takes his ease on silken couches and dines off silver and gold. Fever objects to Cajetan on various grounds, but agrees finally to try a new benefice broker who has just arrived from Rome, — a nice man, who drinks much wine and sorely misses asparagus in winter and hates physicians, whom Fever also dislikes.

244. Hutten's *Fever the Second.*

Ere long Fever puts in a second appearance and begs to be admitted, since he finds it very chilly on the doorstep. Hutten refuses to let him in, but begins to ply him with questions. Finally he asks:

What is the reason for the depraved lives among the priests?

Fever. Idleness and its fostering mother, Riches.

Hutten. But if Germany should take counsel, reduce their wealth, order them to cultivate the fields as others do and earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, should not we then have good priests? . . . Tell me, do you not think the Germans will do this some time?

Fever. Why should they not?

Hutten. As soon as possible?

Fever. Pretty soon, when they cannot longer abide so many thousand parsons, an idle and useless crowd for the most part. Let a time of scarcity come, then hard-working men will be filled with wrath to see these lazy, shameless fellows consuming in luxury what belongs to others.

244a. Hutten's *Vadiscus, or the Roman Trinity.*[1]

In another dialogue, published early in 1520, Hutten meets a friend, Ernhold, in Mayence, and they talk over public affairs. Ernhold asks him what he is irritated about.

Hutten. Because five books of the writings of the historian Tacitus were recently printed at Rome, and when I took them to one of our publishers he declared that he dare not reprint them on account of a bull of Leo X which forbade, in the interests of the Roman printer, that any one should issue the work again within ten years.

Ernhold. Then we Germans cannot read the book for ten years, since works printed in Rome rarely reach Germany?

Hutten. This irritates me especially, and I am vexed more and more every day to see how our people refuse to leave their superstitions, and continue to think that such a bull should be noticed, which prevents us from advancing our studies and sharpening our wits. When the printer said that if he did as I wished and pleased the scholars he would be immediately excommunicated, I asked him if, should the pope forbid us Germans, under pain of his curse, to have vineyards or make money, we should drink water and throw away our gold. He replied that we should not. . . . "But you," I said, "are afraid to let the Germans have Tacitus, when he merits our especial gratitude for having spoken more highly of our people than any other of the ancient writers?" I should have persuaded him had not a papal legate, who is about here now, roused his apprehensions, telling him that it would be a terrible sin to print the book and that Leo would be very angry if he did so. I was quite excusably enraged at the outcome of the affair.

[1] The dialogue secures its name from Hutten's contention that everything went by threes in Rome. Three things are carried away from Rome: a bad conscience, a weak stomach, and empty words; three things disturb the Romans: harmony among the German princes, intelligence among the people, and a recognition of the frauds the Romans perpetrate; three things very few Romans believe: the immortality of the soul, the communion of saints, and the punishments of hell; etc.

Ernhold. Naturally; and I think there are plenty of other things we suffer by: settling for archbishops' palliums, and paying annates, pensions, and six hundred other exactions. When will the Romans moderate their demands? I fear that we Germans will not stand them much longer, for matters are getting worse and worse, and there is no end to their robbery and extortions.

Hutten. As you well say, unless they are more reasonable and show some restraint in their mode of life, this nation of ours will at last have its eyes opened. It will see how miserably it has been misled and swindled, and will recognize the deceptions which have been employed to delude a free people and bring into contempt a brave and strong nation with its noble princes. I already notice that many are beginning to talk freely and act as if we were about to cast off this yoke.

Ernhold. God grant that we may soon cease to be the victims of foreigners![1]

Hutten becomes interested in Luther

The above was written probably in 1519, before Hutten had become interested in Luther, and shows how the Germans might have been led to revolt against the papal supremacy on other than religious grounds. Early in 1520 Hutten was attracted by Luther's utterances and wrote a letter to him beginning "Long live liberty," and offering him the protection of the German knights. He then began translating his own earlier dialogues into German, and added others of a more serious nature, in which he introduced Luther. In September, 1520, he appealed to some of the German princes, urging them to reduce the exactions of the curia. His letter to the elector of Saxony is of the greatest interest, and its description of

[1] Some idea of Hutten's dialogue called "The Onlookers," may be obtained from the extract given by Whitcomb, *Source Book of the German Renaissance*, pp. 62 *sq.*

the economic forces then at work in Germany may profitably be compared with Luther's treatment of the same matters in his *Address to the German Nobility.*

245. Hutten appeals to the elector of Saxony.

. . . We see that there is no gold and almost no silver in our German land. What little may perhaps be left is drawn away daily by the new schemes invented by the council of the most holy members of the Roman curia. What is thus squeezed out of us is put to the most shameful uses. Would you know, dear Germans, what employment I have myself seen that they make at Rome of our money? It does not lie idle!

Leo the Tenth gives a part of it to his nephews and relatives (these are so numerous that there is a proverb at Rome, "As thick as Leo's relations"). A portion is consumed by a host of most reverend cardinals (of which the holy father created no less than one and thirty in a single day), as well as in supporting innumerable referendaries, auditors, prothonotaries, abbreviators, apostolic secretaries, chamberlains, and a variety of officials forming the élite of the great head church.

These in turn draw after them, at untold expense, copyists, beadles, messengers, servants, scullions, mule drivers, grooms, and an innumerable army of prostitutes and of the most degraded followers. They maintain dogs, horses, monkeys, long-tailed apes, and many more such creatures for their pleasure. They construct houses all of marble. They have precious stones, are clothed in purple and fine linen, and dine sumptuously, frivolously indulging themselves in every species of luxury. In short, a vast number of the worst of men are supported in Rome in idle indulgence by means of our money. . . .

Does not your Grace now clearly perceive how many bold robbers, how many cunning hypocrites, are engaged constantly in committing the greatest crimes under cover of the monk's cowl, and how many crafty hawks feign the simplicity of doves, and how many ravening wolves simulate the innocence of lambs? And although there be a few truly pious

among them, even they cling to superstition, and pervert the law of life which Christ laid down for us.

Now if all these who devastate Germany, and continue to devour everything, might once be driven out, and an end made of the unbridled plundering, swindling, and deception with which the Romans have overwhelmed us, we should again have gold and silver in sufficiency, and should be able to keep it.

And then this money, in such quantities as might be available, might be put to better uses, as, for example: to put on foot great armaments and extend the boundaries of the empire; also to conquer the Turks, if this seems desirable; to enable many who, because of poverty, now steal and rob, to earn honestly their living once more; and to give to those who otherwise must starve contributions from the state to mitigate their need; to help scholars, and to advance the study of the arts and sciences and of good literature; above all, to make it possible that every virtue receive its reward, want be relieved at home, indolence banished, and deceit killed.

Then, too, the Bohemians, when they come to know this, will make common cause with us; for it was material obstacles alone that kept them back, in earlier times, from dealing with the avarice of their priests. The Greeks would do the same, for they, unable to bear the Romish tyranny, have for a long time, at the instigation of the popes, been regarded as heretics.

The Russians would also become Christians and join us, — they who, when recently they proposed to embrace Christianity, were repelled by the demand of his Holiness for a yearly tribute to be levied upon them of four hundred thousand ducats. Even the Turks would thereby hate us less; and no heathen, as formerly, would have occasion to molest us. For up to the present day the shameful lives of the heads of the Church have made the name of Christian hateful to all strangers.

EBERNBURG, September 11, 1520.

VII. Luther's "Address to the German Nobility" (1520)

Luther's *Address to the German Nobility.*

Not long after the disputation at Leipzig, Luther began, as we have seen, to attract the attention of Hutten and other German knights, especially Franz von Sickingen, who offered to protect him if he was in danger. This led Luther, who heard that the pope was about to excommunicate him for his protests against the current teaching and practices of the Church, to appeal to the German rulers, with the hope that they might carry out the reforms which the pope and prelates seemed bent on opposing. No English translation can do justice to the vigor of Luther's German, but some notion of the contents of the address may be had from the following extracts.

246. Luther defends the right of the secular rulers to reform the Church.

Dr. Martin Luther, to his Most Serene and Mighty Imperial Majesty, and to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation:

The grace and might of God be with you, Most Serene Majesty! And you, most gracious and well-beloved lords!

It is not out of mere arrogance and perversity that I, one poor, insignificant man, have taken it upon me to address your lordships. The distress and misery which oppress all ranks of Christendom, especially in Germany, have moved not me alone, but everybody, to cry aloud for help; this it is that now compels me to cry out and call upon God to send down his spirit upon some one who shall reach out a hand to this wretched people. Councils have often put forward some remedy, which has always been promptly frustrated by the cunning of certain men, so that the evils have only grown worse; which malice and wickedness I now intend — God helping me! — to expose, so that, being known, they may cease to work such hindrance and injury. God has given us a young and noble sovereign[1] for our leader, thereby

[1] Charles V had just been elected emperor. Luther was soon to learn how hopeless it was to appeal to him. See below, pp. 83 *sqq.*

awakening fresh hopes in many hearts ; it is our part to do what we can to aid him and to make good use of the opportunity and of his gracious favor.

The "three walls" of the Romanists.

The Romanists have with great dexterity built themselves about with three walls, which hitherto have protected them against reform ; and thereby is Christianity fearfully fallen.

In the first place, when the temporal power has pressed them hard, they have affirmed and maintained that *the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, — that, on the contrary, the spiritual is above the temporal.*

Secondly, when it was proposed to admonish them from the Holy Scriptures they said, "*It beseems no one but the pope to interpret the Scriptures.*"

And, thirdly, when they were threatened with a council, they invented the idea that *no one but the pope can call a council.*

Thus have they secretly stolen our three rods, that they may go unpunished ; and intrenched themselves safely behind these three walls in order to carry on all the knavery and wickedness that we now see.

Fruitlessness of reform through councils controlled by the pope.

And whenever they have been compelled to call a council, they have made it of no avail, by binding the princes beforehand with an oath to let them alone. Besides this they have given the pope full power over the ordering of the council, so that it is all one, whether we have many councils or no councils, for in any case they deceive us with pretenses and false tricks, so grievously do the Romanists tremble for their skins before a true, free council; and thus they have overawed kings and princes, so that these believe that they would be offending God if they refused to believe in all their knavish tricks.

Now may God help us, and give us one of those trumpets that overthrew the walls of Jericho, so that we may also blow down these walls of straw and paper, and that we may regain possession of our Christian rods for the chastisement of sin, and expose the craft and deceit of the devil ; thus may we amend ourselves by punishment and again obtain God's favor.

The first wall: the fiction of a priestly caste.

Let us, in the first place, attack the first wall.

It has been discovered that the pope, bishops, priests, and monks should be called the "spiritual estate," while princes, lords, artisans, and peasants form the "temporal estate," — a very fine hypocritical invention. But let no one be made afraid by it; and that for this reason: All Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among us, save of office alone. As St. Paul says (1 Cor. xii), we are all one body, though each member has its own work to do, whereby it may serve the others. This is because we have one baptism, one gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, gospel, and faith, these alone make spiritual and Christian folk. . . .

Therefore a priest should be nothing in Christendom but a functionary. So long as he holds his office he takes precedence; if he is deprived of it, he is but a peasant or a burgher, like the rest. Therefore a priest is verily no priest when he is deprived of his office. But now they have invented their "indelible characters," and pretend that a priest after deprivation is still something different from a simple layman. They even imagine that a priest can never be anything but a priest, — that is, that he can never become a layman again. But all this is nothing but mere talk and ordinance of human invention.

The indelible characters.

We see then that those we call churchmen, be they priests, bishops, or popes, are not set apart from or above other Christians, except in so far as they have to do with the word of God and the sacraments, for that is their calling and office. And moreover the temporal authorities wield the sword and the rod to chastise the wicked and protect the good. A cobbler, a smith, a peasant — every man has his own calling and office, just like the consecrated priests and bishops: and every one in his office or calling must help and serve the rest, so that all may work together for the common good, as the various members of the body all serve each other.

See now what sort of a Christian doctrine is this, — that the temporal power is not above the spiritual, and may not punish it. That is like saying the hand shall do nothing to

help, however grievously the eye may suffer. Is it not unnatural, not to say unchristian, that one member may not help another, even to shield it from destruction? Nay, the nobler the member, the more the others are bound to help it. Therefore I say, forasmuch as the temporal power has been ordained by God for the chastisement of the wicked and the protection of the good, therefore we must let it exercise its functions, unhampered, throughout the whole Christian body without respect of persons, whether it strikes popes, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or whatever. . . .

It must indeed have been the archfiend himself who said, as we read in the canon law, "Were the pope so perniciously wicked as to be dragging souls in crowds to the devil, yet he could not be deposed."[1] This is the accursed, devilish foundation on which they build at Rome, and think the whole world may go to the devil rather than that they should be opposed in their knavery. If a man were to escape punishment simply because he was above his fellows, then no Christian might punish another, since Christ has commanded that each of us esteem himself the lowest and humblest of all (Matt. xviii. 4; Luke ix. 48).

The second wall: the exclusive claim of the pope to interpret Scripture.

The second wall is even more flimsy and tottering than the first, — namely, the claim that they alone are masters of the Scriptures. Although they learn nothing in them all their life long, they assume the sole authority, juggle impudently with empty words, saying the pope cannot err, be he pious or wicked; albeit they cannot show so much as a single letter in proof of it. That is why the canon law

[1] This is the substance of a passage attributed to St. Boniface, the apostle to the Germans, and included by Gratian in his *Decretum* (Prima Pars, Dist. XL, c. 6: *Si papa*). "If indeed the pope be found neglecting his own and his brethren's salvation; lax and remiss in his duties, and silent as to the good which most concerns himself and all; and should he, moreover, hell's chief slave, be dragging after him innumerable hosts and peoples to suffer manifold and eternal pains, — yet may no mortal presume to reprove him, for he is set as judge over all, and is judged by none, — unless mayhap he be taken straying from the way of faith." Luther knew the canon law well enough to use it as a weapon against his opponents.

contains so many heretical and unchristian — nay, unnatural — laws; but of them we need not speak at present. For since the Romanists claim that the Holy Ghost never leaves them, however wicked and ignorant they may be, they grow bold enough to decree whatever they like. But were this true, where were the need or use of the Holy Scriptures? Let us burn them and content ourselves instead with the unlearned gentlemen at Rome in whom dwells the Holy Ghost, who nevertheless is wont to dwell only in pious souls! If I had not read about it, I would never have believed that the devil could do such stupid things in Rome and still find a following!

But that we fight not with our own words, let us bring forth the Scriptures. St. Paul says: "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace" (1 Cor. xiv. 30). What would be the use of this commandment if we were to believe him alone who speaks first or sits in the highest seat? Christ himself says that all Christians shall be taught of God (John vi. 45). But it may come to pass that the pope and his followers are wicked men, without true understanding, neither true Christians nor taught of God, whereas some common man may have true understanding. Why, then, should we not follow him? Has not the pope often been in error? Who is to help Christianity when the pope errs if we are not to believe another who has the Scriptures for him? . . . In olden times Abraham was forced to listen to Sarah, though she was far more strictly subject to him than we are now to any one on earth. Even so Balaam's ass was wiser than the prophet himself. If God has spoken against a prophet through an ass, why should he not still speak through a good man against the pope?

The third wall: the exclusive right of the pope to summon a council.

The third wall falls of itself as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the pope acts contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures and to punish and restrain him, in accordance with Christ's commandment (Matt. xviii. 15). . . . Moreover there is nothing in the Scriptures to show that the pope has the sole right to summon and confirm a council; the Romanists have nothing but their

own laws, and these hold good only so long as they are not opposed to Christianity and the laws of God ; but when the pope deserves punishment these laws cease to exist, since Christianity would suffer if he were not punished by means of a council. . . .

And now I hope we have laid the false and lying specter by means of which the Romanists have kept our timid consciences in subjection. We have shown that they are subject, like all the rest of us, to the temporal sword ; that they have no authority to interpret the Scriptures by force and without knowledge; and that they have no right either to prevent a council, or to pledge and bind it in advance to suit their pleasure and thus deprive it of its freedom. And when they do this they are verily of the fellowship of Antichrist and the devil and have nothing from Christ but the name.

Luther next invites the attention of the German rulers to the pomp of the pope and cardinals for which the Germans must pay. This was a theme which appealed especially to those for whom he was writing. "The pope wears a triple crown, whereas the mightiest kings only wear one." Yet his office "should be nothing else than to weep and pray continually for Christendom and to be an example of humility."

246a. The expense to Germany of the cardinals.

What is the use in Christendom of those who are called "cardinals"? I will tell you. In Italy and Germany there are many rich convents, endowments, holdings, and benefices; and as the best way of getting these into the hands of Rome they created cardinals, and gave to them the bishoprics, convents, and prelacies, and thus destroyed the service of God. That is why Italy is almost a desert now : the convents are destroyed, the sees consumed, the revenues of the prelacies and of all the churches drawn to Rome ; towns are decayed, and the country and the people ruined because there is no more any worship of God or preaching. Why? Because the

cardinals must have all the wealth. The Turk himself could not have so desolated Italy and so overthrown the worship of God.

Now that Italy is sucked dry, they come to Germany and begin very quietly, but we shall soon see Germany brought into the same state as Italy. We have a few cardinals already. What the Romanists really mean to do the "drunken Germans" are not to see until they have lost everything.[1] . . .

Now this devilish state of things is not only open robbery and deceit and the prevailing of the gates of hell, but it is destroying the very life and soul of Christianity; therefore we are bound to use all our diligence to ward off this misery and destruction. If we want to fight Turks, let us begin here, — we cannot find worse ones. If we rightly hang thieves and behead robbers, why do we leave the greed of Rome unpunished? for Rome is the greatest thief and robber that has ever appeared on earth, or ever will; and all in the holy names of Church and St. Peter.

But here is a sample of the original German,[2] which shows how Luther could compel men to him by his fiery appeals to German national feeling. He is speaking of papal dispensations from vows and obligations.

246b. Example of Luther's vigorous German.

Wenn keine andere böse Tücke wäre, die da bewährte, dass der Papst der rechte Antichrist sei, so wäre eben dieses Stück genugsam, das zu bewähren. Hörst du, Papst, nicht der Allerheiligste, sondern der Allersündigste! dass Gott deinen Stuhl von Himmel auf's schierste zerstöre und in den Abgrund der Hölle senke! Wer hat dir Gewalt gegeben, dich zu erheben über deinen Gott? das zu brechen und lösen, das er geboten hat, und die Christen, sonderlich die deutsche Nation, die von edler Natur, beständig und treu

[1] This is naturally to be taken with the same reservations with which modern campaign documents are read by the judicious.

[2] Somewhat modernized.

How the pope had demoralized the Germans

in allen Historien gelobt sind, zu lehren unbeständig, meineidig, Verräter, Bösewichte, treulos sein ?

Gott hat geboten, man soll Eid und Treue halten auch den Feinden ! und du unterwindest dich solches Gebot zu lösen, setzest in deinen ketzerischen, antichristlichen Dekretalen, du habest Macht darüber, und lügt durch deinen Hals und Feder der böse Satan, als er nie gelogen hat, zwingst und dringst die Schrift nach deinen Mutwillen ! Ach Christe, mein Herr, sieh herab, lass herbrechen deinen jüngsten Tag und zerstöre des Teufels Nest zu Rom !

After proving, as he hoped, that the supremacy of the pope was all a terrible mistake and that the secular rulers were free and in duty bound to correct the evils in the Church, Luther sketches a plan for preventing money from going to Italy, for reducing the number of idle, begging monks, of harmful pilgrimages, and inexpedient holidays. Luxury and drinking were to be repressed, the universities, especially the divinity schools, reorganized, etc.

VIII. Luther rejects the Doctrine of the Seven Sacraments

247. Luther's *Babylonish Captivity of the Church.*

In his *Address to the German Nobility* Luther had said little or nothing of theology or religious doctrine. But three months later (September, 1520) he attacked the whole sacramental system of the mediæval Church in his *Babylonish Captivity of the Church.* Many reformers like Glapion, the Franciscan confessor of Charles V, who had read the *Address* with equanimity if not approval, were shocked by Luther's audacity in rejecting the ancient conceptions of the Church.

To begin. I must deny that there are seven sacraments, and must lay it down for the time being that there are

only three, — baptism, penance, and the bread [i.e. the communion], and that by the court of Rome all these have been brought into miserable bondage, and the Church despoiled of all her liberty. And yet, if I were to speak according to the usage of Scripture, I should hold that there was only one sacrament, and three sacramental signs. I shall speak on this point more at length at the proper time; but now I speak of the sacrament of the bread, the first of all sacraments.

After considering the question of the communion under both kinds advocated both by Wycliffe and Huss, and of transubstantiation, Luther turns to the mass as a good work.

The mass not a good work or sacrifice.

The third bondage of this same sacrament is that abuse of it — and by far the most impious — by which it has come about that at this day there is no belief in the Church more generally received or more firmly held than that the mass is a good work and a sacrifice. This abuse has brought in an infinite flood of other abuses, until faith in the sacrament has been utterly lost, and they have made this divine sacrament a mere subject of traffic, huckstering, and money-getting contracts. Hence communions, brotherhoods, suffrages, merits, anniversaries, memorials, and other things of that kind are bought and sold in the Church, and made the subjects of bargains and agreements; and the entire maintenance of priests and monks depends upon these things.

Luther realizes the difficulty of his task.

I am entering on an arduous task, and it may perhaps be impossible to uproot an abuse which, strengthened by the practice of so many ages, and approved by universal consent, has fixed itself so firmly among us that the greater part of the books which have influence at the present day must needs be done away with, and almost the entire aspect of the churches be changed, and a totally different kind of ceremonies be brought in, or rather, brought back. But my Christ lives, and we must take heed to the word of God with greater care than to all the intellects of men and

angels. I will perform my part, I will bring forth the subject into the light, and will impart the truth freely and ungrudgingly as I have received it. For the rest, let every one look to his own salvation; I will labor, as in the presence of Christ, my judge, in order that no man may be able to throw upon me the blame of his own unbelief and ignorance of the truth.

IX. The Edict of the Diet of Worms (May, 1521)

248. The Edict of Worms condemning Luther and his adherents.

1. We, Charles V, by God's grace Roman emperor elect, ever august, king of Germany, Spain, the two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, etc., count of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol, salute and tender our gracious good wishes to each and all of the electors, princes, — both spiritual and secular, — prelates, counts, barons, knights, nobles, captains, governors, burgomasters, councilors, judges, citizens, and communities, also rectors and officers of all universities, and all other beloved and faithful subjects of ours, or of the Empire, of whatsoever rank they may be, to whom these our imperial letters, or a credible copy certified by a spiritual prelate or a public notary, may come or be announced.

Charles V holds it to be his duty to extirpate heresy.

2. Most reverend, honorable, and illustrious friends and relatives, devoted and loyal: as it pertains to our office of Roman emperor, not only to enlarge the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire, which our fathers of the German nation founded for the defense of the Holy Roman and Catholic Church, subduing unbelievers by the sword, through the divine grace, with much shedding of blood, but also, adhering to the rule hitherto observed by the Holy Roman Church, to take care that no stain or suspicion of heresy should contaminate our holy faith within the Roman Empire, or, if heresy had already begun, to extirpate it with all necessary diligence, prudence, and discretion, as the case might demand;

3. Therefore we hold that if it was the duty of any of our ancestors to defend the Christian name, much greater is the obligation on us, inasmuch as the unparalleled goodness

of Almighty God has, for the protection and increase of his holy faith, endowed us with more kingdoms and lands and greater power in the Empire than any of our ancestors for many years. Moreover we are also sprung from the paternal stock of the emperors and archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy, and from the maternal stock of the most faithful kings of Spain, the Sicilies, and Jerusalem, — the memory of whose illustrious deeds, wrought for the Christian faith, will never pass away.

4. Whereas, certain heresies have sprung up in the German nation within the last three years, which were formerly condemned by the holy councils and papal decrees, with the consent of the whole Church, and are now drawn anew from hell, should we permit them to become more deeply rooted, or, by our negligence, tolerate and bear with them, our conscience would be greatly burdened, and the future glory of our name would be covered by a dark cloud in the auspicious beginnings of our reign.

5. Since now without doubt it is plain to you all how far these errors and heresies depart from the Christian way, which a certain Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order, has sought violently and virulently to introduce and disseminate within the Christian religion and its established order, especially in the German nation, which is renowned as a perpetual destroyer of all unbelief and heresy; so that, unless it is speedily prevented, the whole German nation, and later all other nations, will be infected by this same disorder, and mighty dissolution and pitiable downfall of good morals, and of the peace and the Christian faith, will result.

. . . . . .

Luther's wicked arrogance.

9. And although, after the delivery of the papal bull and final condemnation of Luther, we proclaimed the bull in many places in the German nation, as well as in our Burgundian lands, and especially its execution at Cologne, Treves, Mayence, and Liége, nevertheless Martin Luther has taken no account of it, nor lessened nor revoked his errors, nor sought absolution from his Papal Holiness or grace from the holy Christian Church; but like a madman

plotting the manifest destruction of the holy Church, he daily scatters abroad much worse fruit and effect of his depraved heart and mind through very numerous books, both in Latin and German, composed by himself, or at least under his name, which are full of heresies and blasphemies, not only new ones but also those formerly condemned by holy councils.

Luther's heresies enumerated

10. Therein he destroys, overturns, and abuses the number, arrangement, and use of the seven sacraments, received and held for so many centuries by the holy Church, and in astonishing ways shamefully pollutes the indissoluble bonds of holy matrimony; and says also that holy unction is a mere invention. He desires also to adapt our customs and practice in the administration of the most holy sacrament of the holy eucharist to the habit and custom of the condemned Bohemians. And he begins to attack confession, — most wholesome for the hearts that are polluted or laden with sins, — declaring that no profit or consolation can be expected from it. Finally, he threatens to write so much more fully of confession that (if it be allowed) not only will all who read his mad writings venture to say that confession is useless, but most of them declare that one should not confess at all.

11. He not only holds the priestly office and order in contempt, but also urges secular and lay persons to bathe their hands in the blood of priests; and he uses scurrilous and shameful words against the chief priest of our Christian faith, the successor of St. Peter and true vicar of Christ on earth, and pursues him with manifold and unprecedented attacks and invectives. He demonstrates also from the heathen poets that there is no free will, because all things are determined by an immutable decree.

12. And he writes that the mass confers no benefit on him for whom it is celebrated. Moreover he overthrows the custom of fasting and prayer, established by the holy Church and hitherto maintained. Especially does he impugn the authority of the holy fathers, as they are received by the Church, and would destroy obedience and authority of every kind. Indeed, he writes nothing which does not arouse and

promote sedition, discord, war, murder, robbery, and arson, and tend toward the complete downfall of the Christian faith. For he teaches a loose, self-willed life, severed from all laws and wholly brutish; and he is a loose, self-willed man, who condemns and rejects all laws; for he has shown no fear or shame in burning publicly the decretals and canon law. And had he feared the secular sword no more than the ban and penalties of the pope, he would have committed much worse offenses against the civil law.

13. He does not blush to speak publicly against holy councils, and to abuse and insult them at will. Especially has he everywhere bitterly attacked the Council of Constance with his foul mouth, and calls it a synagogue of Satan, to the shame and disgrace of the whole Church and of the German nation. . . . And he has fallen into such madness of spirit as to boast that if Huss were a heretic then he is ten times a heretic.

14. But all the other innumerable wickednesses of Luther must, for brevity's sake, remain unreckoned. This fellow appears to be not so much a man as the wicked demon in the form of a man and under a monk's cowl. He has collected many heresies of the worst heretics, long since condemned and forgotten, together with some newly invented ones, in one stinking pool, under pretext of preaching *faith*, which he extols with so great industry in order that he may ruin the true and genuine faith, and under the name and appearance of evangelical doctrine overturn and destroy all evangelical peace and love, as well as all righteous order and the most excellent hierarchy of the Church. . . .

Luther summoned to Worms.

16. And now, particularly on account of these things, we have summoned here to Worms the electors, princes, and estates of this our Holy Empire, and carefully examined the aforesaid matters with great diligence, as evident necessity demands, and with unanimous advice and consent of all, we decree what follows.

17. Although one so condemned and persisting in his obstinate perversity, separated from the rites of the Christian Church and a manifest heretic, is denied a hearing under

all laws; nevertheless, to prevent all unprofitable dispute, . . . we, through our herald, gave him a safe-conduct to come hither, in order that he might be questioned in our own presence and in that of the electors, princes, and estates of the Empire; whether he had composed the books which were then laid before his eyes. . . .

18. And as soon as these books were enumerated, he acknowledged them as his own, and moreover declared that he would never deny them. And he also says that he has made many other books, which we have not mentioned herein because we have no knowledge of them.

. . . . . .

Luther put under the ban.

25. Accordingly, in view of all these considerations and the fact that Martin Luther still persists obstinately and perversely in maintaining his heretical opinions, and consequently all pious and God-fearing persons abominate and abhor him as one mad or possessed by a demon, . . . we have declared and made known that the said Martin Luther shall hereafter be held and esteemed by each and all of us as a limb cut off from the Church of God, an obstinate schismatic and manifest heretic. . . .

27. And we publicly attest by these letters that we order and command each and all of you, as you owe fidelity to us and the Holy Empire, and would escape the penalties of the crime of treason, and the ban and over-ban of the Empire, and the forfeiture of all regalia, fiefs, privileges, and immunities, which up to this time you have in any way obtained from our predecessors, ourself, and the Holy Empire; — commanding, we say, in the name of the Roman and imperial majesty, we strictly order that immediately after the expiration of the appointed twenty days, terminating on the fourteenth day of May, you shall refuse to give the aforesaid Martin Luther hospitality, lodging, food, or drink; neither shall any one, by word or deed, secretly or openly, succor or assist him by counsel or help; but in whatever place you meet him, you shall proceed against him; if you have sufficient force, you shall take him prisoner and keep him in close custody; you shall deliver him, or cause him to be delivered,

to us or at least let us know where he may be captured. In the meanwhile you shall keep him closely imprisoned until you receive notice from us what further to do, according to the direction of the laws. And for such holy and pious work we will indemnify you for your trouble and expense.

28. In like manner you shall proceed against his friends, adherents, patrons, maintainers, abettors, sympathizers, emulators, and followers. And the property of these, whether personal or real, you shall, in virtue of the sacred ordinances and of our imperial ban and over-ban, treat in this way; namely, you shall attack and overthrow its possessors and wrest their property from them and transfer it to your own custody and uses; and no one shall hinder or impede these measures, unless the owner shall abandon his unrighteous way and secure papal absolution.

No one to print, sell, or discuss Luther's writings.

29. Consequently we command you, each and all, under the penalities already prescribed, that henceforth no one shall dare to buy, sell, read, preserve, copy, print, or cause to be copied or printed, any books of the aforesaid Martin Luther, condemned by our holy father the pope as aforesaid, or any other writings in German or Latin hitherto composed by him, since they are foul, harmful, suspected, and published by a notorious and stiffnecked heretic. Neither shall any dare to approve his opinions, nor to proclaim, defend, or assert them, in any other way that human ingenuity can invent, notwithstanding he may have put some good in them to deceive the simple man.

. . . . . .

38. And in order that all this may be done and credit given to this document, we have sealed it with our imperial seal, which has been affixed in our imperial city of Worms, on the eighth day of May, after the birth of Christ 1521, in the second year of our reign over the Roman Empire, and over our other lands the sixth.[1]

By our lord the emperor's own command.

[1] The German version of the edict is given by Walch, *Luthers Werke*, Vol. XV, columns 2264 *sqq*. There are two Latin versions, seemingly independent translations from the German, and both attributed to

X. Erasmus' Distrust of Luther

Erasmus had good reason to fear that he was regarded as one of Luther's sympathizers and supporters, for in the opinion of many of his enemies he had really laid the egg that Luther had hatched. Just after the close of the diet of Worms he wrote to an English friend, Richard Pace, as follows:

Brussels, July 5, 1521.

249. The prudent policy of Erasmus.

. . . I fear that the Dominicans and some of the theologians will use their victory intemperately, especially those of Louvain, who have some private grudge against me and have discovered in Jerome Aleander a person admirably adapted to their purposes. This man is mad enough anyway, without any one to stir him up; but as it is, he has instigators enough to drive even the most moderate to madness. The most virulent pamphlets are flying about on all sides, and Aleander ascribes them all to me, though I was ignorant of the very existence of many of them before he called my attention to them. Luther has acknowledged his own books in the presence of the emperor, and yet *The Babylonish Captivity*, which is one of them, is ascribed to me. A prolific author indeed I must be, seeing that I was able to write so many pamphlets while I was meantime revising the text of the New Testament, and editing the works of Augustine, not to speak of other undertakings.

Cochlæus, Luther's well-known opponent. These differ in their wording, and slightly in their contents, from one another and from the German. One may be found in Goldast, *Constitutiones*, Vol. II, pp. 142 *sqq.*, and is reproduced by Le Plat in his *Monumentorum Collectio*, Vol. II, pp. 115 *sqq.* Raynaldus, *Annales*, *s. d.* 1521, and Gerdes, *Historia Reformationis*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 34 *sqq.*, give the other. I do not know whether or not the original draft by the papal representative Aleander, which we may presume was in Latin, has ever been published. The translation here given follows Walch's German text, with some modifications suggested by the text in Raynaldus. I have availed myself of the translation in the Crozer Historical Leaflets, No. 3, amending it to bring it into closer accord with the originals.

May I be lost if in all of Luther's works there is a single syllable of mine, or if any calumnious book was ever published by me; on the contrary, I do all I can to deter others from issuing such works. Now, however, they are taking a new tack, and assert that Luther has borrowed some of his doctrines from my works, as if he had not borrowed more from Paul's epistles. I now see clearly at last that it has been the policy of the Germans to implicate me, whether I would or no, in this business of Luther, — a most unwise policy indeed, since nothing would sooner have alienated me from them. What aid indeed could I have rendered Luther even had I chosen to share his danger? The only result would have been that two must perish instead of one. I can never sufficiently wonder at the violent spirit which he has displayed in his writings, by which he has certainly brought immense discredit on all the friends of good literature. Many indeed of his teachings and exhortations are excellent, but I wish that he had not vitiated the good in his writings by his intolerable faults.

But even if he had always written in the most reverent spirit, still I should have had no inclination to risk my life for the truth. It is not every one who has strength for martyrdom, and I am afraid that if any outbreak should take place I should imitate St. Peter. When the popes and emperors decree what is right I obey, — which is the course of true piety; but when they command what is wrong, I submit, — and that is the safe course. I think that all good men are justified in acting thus when there is no hope of successful opposition. . . .

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Luther's Early Years: KÖSTLIN, *Life of Luther*, pp. 10–56; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, Vol. I, pp. 251–273; DYER and HASSALL, *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, pp. 400–415; WALKER, *The Reformation*, pp. 77–108.

The Theses: KÖSTLIN, pp. 82–107.

The Diet of Worms: HENDERSON, Vol. I, pp. 275–284; KÖSTLIN, pp. 222–245; WALKER, pp. 108–123.

B. Additional reading in English.

Partisan character of the books on the Protestant Revolt.

The student of the Protestant Revolt must always remember that almost all accounts of the period are partisan; most of them, especially the older ones, are so biased as to be wholly unreliable.[1] Even apart from religious bias, Luther's character strangely fascinates many writers, but is utterly repellent to others. The works mentioned below are all of them either Protestant or Catholic in sympathy, but they are scholarly and in the main accurate.

SEEBOHM, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution* (Epochs of Modern History), is an admirable little book, which deals briefly with the whole course of the Protestant Revolt in the various countries of western Europe.

BEARD, *Martin Luther*. The best life in English. Chapter IV, "Luther's life prior to his Revolt"; Chapter VII, "Luther's appeal to the Nation in 1520"; Chapter IX, "The Diet of Worms." The work was never completed, owing to the death of the writer. *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge* (Hibbert Lectures, 1883), by the same author, is very suggestive and valuable.

CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, Vol. VI, Chapter III, "Luther's Life before 1521," and Chapter V, "The Diet of Worms." Excellent.

JANSSEN, *History of the German People*, Vol. III. The most celebrated modern Catholic work in this field. Very valuable, especially to those who know only the traditional Protestant views.

SPALDING (archbishop of Baltimore), *The History of the Protestant Reformation, in a Series of Essays*, 2 vols. This work is not a systematic history, and is chiefly concerned with the alleged misrepresentations and errors of the less judicious Protestant writers.

RANKE, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, Book II.

BAX, *German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages*, 1894. A rather slight work, but clear and brief. See especially Chapters I, V, and VII, on the conditions in town and country.

First Principles of the Reformation, or the Three Primary Works of Dr. Martin Luther, edited by WACE and BUCHHEIM, Philadelphia, contains a correct, if rather lifeless, translation of Luther's "Theses," his letter of 1520 to Leo X, his "Address to the German Nobility," "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," and "Liberty of the Christian." Very valuable to one who cannot read German and Latin.

LUTHER, *Table Talk*, translated by Hazlitt (Bohn Library). See under *C*, below, p. 93.

[1] See my paper in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1903, on "The Study of the Protestant Revolt."

C. Materials for advanced study.

KÖSTLIN, *Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 2 vols. The best of the innumerable lives of the reformer. The English edition cited above under *A* is a translation of an abridged popular edition of the complete work.

BERGER, A. E., *Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation, Einleitung in eine Lutherbiographie*, 1895. An elaborate review of the conditions leading up to Luther's revolt. The same writer is issuing a new biography of Luther, — *Martin Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung.* Vol. I, 1483–1525 (1895), and Vol. II, Part I, have appeared.

HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, Vol. IX, by Cardinal Hergenröther. Useful Catholic view of Luther's teachings.

BEZOLD, LAMPRECHT, and EGELHAAF (see above, pp. 51 *sq.*) are all admirable for the opening of the Lutheran revolt.

MAURENBRECHER, *Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformationzeit*, 1874. A very fair-minded writer. See especially his essay on the sources for the Lutheran period, pp. 205 *sq.*

DÖLLINGER, *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwicklung und ihre Wirkungen*, 3 vols., 1846–1848. A remarkable collection of extracts chosen to illustrate the hostility Luther aroused among educated men.

LEA, *History of Confession and Indulgences*, 3 vols.; especially Vol. III, Chapter VII, "The Reformation."

HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, Vol. VII. The outcome of the Protestant Revolt from a theological standpoint.

The sources.

LUTHER, *Briefwechsel*, edited by Enders, 1884 *sq.* Ten volumes have so far appeared, coming down to 1536. Admirably annotated, and includes not only Luther's Latin correspondence but important letters addressed to him by others.

Luther's works (Weimar edition).

Of Luther's works by far the best edition is that now in course of publication at Weimar. Some 25 volumes have appeared. This collection has great advantages for historical students, since the works, both the Latin and the German, are published in chronological order and admirably edited. In the old edition of Luther's works (1745) edited by WALCH, the Latin works are translated into German. Walch devotes Vols. XV–XVII to documents relating to the history of the Reformation. Besides these two editions there is the so-called Erlangen edition in small volumes, comprising a Latin series (1829–1836), a German series (2d ed., 1862 *sqq.*), and 7 useful volumes, *Opera varii argumenti*, containing pamphlets, etc.

Walch's edition.

Erlangen edition.

Luther's *Table Talk.*

Luther's views and sayings, as uttered freely, not to say recklessly, in familiar conversation with his friends, were carefully treasured up by his admirers and recorded in the form of *Table Talk.* The first collection

of these scraps of conversation was published by Aurifaber in 1566, twenty years after Luther's death. The best modern edition is edited by FÖRSTEMANN, *Luther's Tischreden nach Aurifabers erste Ausgabe* (showing the additions and alterations made by later editors), 4 parts, 1844–1848. There is an English translation of Aurifaber's *Table Talk* by Hazlitt (Bohn Library). Another sixteenth-century editor, Rebenstock, issued a collection of Latin conversations of Luther. This is republished by BINDSEIL, *Lutheri Colloquia*, 3 vols., 1863–1866. The sayings are classified under headings: "Of God's Works," "Of the Devil," "Of Antichrist," "Of Magic," etc. For examples of the original notes which underlie the *Table Talk*, see LAUTERBACH, *Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538*, edited by Seidemann, 1872; *Tischreden aus den Jahren 1531 und 1532 nach den Aufzeichnungen von Schlaginhaufen*, edited by Preger, 1888; and *Analecta Lutherana*, edited by Loesche, 1892, based on the notes of Mathesius. Cf. MEYER, WILH., *Über Lauterbachs und Aurifabers Sammlungen der Tischreden Luthers*, König. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaft Göttingen, Abhandl. Philol-hist. Kl., N.F., Vol. I, No. 2.

COCHLÆUS, *Historia de actis et scriptis M. Luther*. An account of Luther by one of his better opponents. Formerly much used by Catholic writers.

BRIEGER, *Aleander und Luther, 1521*, Gotha, 1884. An admirable edition of the remarkable dispatches in which Aleander, one of the pope's representatives at Worms, describes the conditions in Germany.

CHAPTER XXVI

COURSE OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN GERMANY (1521–1555)

I. The Peasant War[1]

The Edict of Worms denounced Luther as an opponent of law and a breeder of sedition. This view was substantiated in the eyes of many by the revolt, first of the knights, and then of the peasants, for in both cases the malcontents had much to say of evangelical truth and liberty. The following manifesto of the peasants, drawn up in 1524, clearly shows the influence of Luther's teachings. Yet the revolt cannot be attributed to him, but rather to the general social and economic conditions which had produced a number of similar disturbances earlier. Much had been said by the popular leaders of "God's justice" and of the vices of the clergy before ever Luther was heard of.

250. The fundamental and correct chief articles of the peasants, relating to the matters in which they feel themselves aggrieved.

Peace to the Christian reader and the grace of God through Christ:

There are many evil writings put forth of late which take occasion, on account of the assembling of the peasants, to cast scorn upon the gospel, saying, "Is this the fruit of the new teaching, that no one should obey but that all should everywhere rise in revolt, and rush together to reform, or perhaps destroy altogether, the authorities, both ecclesiastic

[1] The amount of space devoted in this chapter to the Peasant War will not seem excessive to one who considers how admirably the material here given illustrates the extreme intricacy of the movements for religious, social, economic, and political reform.

and lay?" The articles below shall answer these godless and criminal fault-finders, and serve, in the first place, to remove the reproach from the word of God and, in the second place, to give a Christian excuse for the disobedience or even the revolt of the entire peasantry.

In the first place, the gospel is not the cause of revolt and disorder, since it is the message of Christ, the promised Messiah; the word of life, teaching only love, peace, patience, and concord. Thus all who believe in Christ should learn to be loving, peaceful, long-suffering, and harmonious. This is the foundation of all the articles of the peasants (as will be seen), who accept the gospel and live according to it. How then can the evil reports declare the gospel to be a cause of revolt and disobedience? That the authors of the evil reports and the enemies of the gospel oppose themselves to these demands is due, not to the gospel, but to the devil, the worst enemy of the gospel, who causes this opposition by raising doubts in the minds of his followers, and thus the word of God, which teaches love, peace, and concord, is overcome.

In the second place, it is clear that the peasants demand that this gospel be taught them as a guide in life, and they ought not to be called disobedient or disorderly. Whether God grant the peasants (earnestly wishing to live according to his word) their requests or no, who shall find fault with the will of the Most High? Who shall meddle in his judgments or oppose his majesty? Did he not hear the children of Israel when they called upon him and save them out of the hands of Pharaoh? Can he not save his own to-day? Yea, he will save them and that speedily. Therefore, Christian reader, read the following articles with care and then judge. Here follow the articles:

Pastors to be chosen by the people.

The First Article. First, it is our humble petition and desire, as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should teach us the

gospel pure and simple, without any addition, doctrine, or ordinance of man.

The tithe.

The Second Article. According as the just tithe is established by the Old Testament and fulfilled in the New, we are ready and willing to pay the fair tithe of grain. The word of God plainly provides that in giving rightly to God and distributing to his people the services of a pastor are required. We will that for the future our church provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe. From this he shall give to the pastor, elected by the whole community, a decent and sufficient maintenance for him and his, as shall seem right to the whole community. What remains over shall be given to the poor of the place, as the circumstances and the general opinion demand. Should anything farther remain, let it be kept, lest any one should have to leave the country from poverty. The small tithes,[1] whether ecclesiastical or lay, we will not pay at all, for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man. We will not, therefore, pay farther an unseemly tithe which is of man's invention.

Protest against serfdom.

The Third Article. It has been the custom hitherto for men to hold us as their own property, which is pitiable enough, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us all, without exception, by the shedding of his precious blood, the lowly as well as the great. Accordingly it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free and should wish to be so. Not that we would wish to be absolutely free and under no authority. God does not teach us that we should lead a disorderly life in the lusts of the flesh, but that we should love the Lord our God and our neighbor. We would gladly observe all this as God has commanded us in the celebration of the communion. He has not commanded us not to obey the authorities, but rather that we should be humble, not only towards those in authority, but towards every one. We are thus ready to yield obedience according to God's law to our elected and regular authorities

[1] That is, tithes of other products than the staple crops, — for example, tithes of pigs or lambs.

in all proper things becoming to a Christian. We therefore take it for granted that you will release us from serfdom as true Christians, unless it should be shown us from the gospel that we are serfs.

Hunting and fishing rights.

The Fourth Article. In the fourth place, it has been the custom heretofore that no poor man should be allowed to touch venison or wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly as well as selfish and not agreeable to the word of God. In some places the authorities preserve the game to our great annoyance and loss, recklessly permitting the unreasoning animals to destroy to no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man; and yet we must submit quietly. This is neither godly nor neighborly; for when God created man he gave him dominion over all the animals, over the birds of the air and over the fish in the water. Accordingly it is our desire, if a man holds possession of waters, that he should prove from satisfactory documents that his right has been unwittingly [*unwissenlich*] acquired by purchase. We do not wish to take it from him by force, but his rights should be exercised in a Christian and brotherly fashion. But whosoever cannot produce such evidence should surrender his claim with good grace.

Restrictions on woodcutting.

The Fifth Article. In the fifth place, we are aggrieved in the matter of woodcutting, for the noble folk have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone. If a poor man requires wood, he must pay two pieces of money for it. It is our opinion in regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of a lord, whether spiritual or temporal, that unless it was duly purchased it should revert again to the community. It should, moreover, be free to every member of the community to help himself to such firewood as he needs in his home.

Excessive services demanded of the peasants.

The Sixth Article. Our sixth complaint is in regard to the excessive services which are demanded of us and which are increased from day to day. We ask that this matter be properly looked into, so that we shall not continue to be oppressed in this way, but that some gracious consideration

be given us, since our forefathers were required only to serve according to the word of God.

The Seventh Article. Seventh, we will not hereafter allow ourselves to be farther oppressed by our lords, but will let them demand only what is just and proper according to the word of the agreement between the lord and the peasant. The lord should no longer try to force more services or other dues from the peasant without payment, but permit the peasant to enjoy his holding in peace and quiet. The peasant should, however, help the lord when it is necessary, and at proper times, when it will not be disadvantageous to the peasant, and for a suitable payment.

Readjustment of rents.

The Eighth Article. In the eighth place, we are greatly burdened by holdings which cannot support the rent exacted from them. The peasants suffer loss in this way and are ruined; and we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honor to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the laborer is worthy of his hire.

Protest against the new Roman law then being introduced into Germany.

The Ninth Article. In the ninth place, we are burdened with a great evil in the constant making of new laws. We are not judged according to the offense, but sometimes with great ill-will, and sometimes much too leniently. In our opinion, we should be judged according to the old written law, so that the case shall be decided according to its merits, and not with partiality.

Loss of common land.

The Tenth Article. In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation by individuals of meadows and fields which at one time belonged to a community. These we will take again into our own hands. It may, however, happen that the land was rightfully purchased. When, however, the land has unfortunately been purchased in this way, some brotherly arrangement should be made according to circumstances.

The heriot.

The Eleventh Article. In the eleventh place, we will entirely abolish the due called "heriot," and will no longer endure it, nor allow widows and orphans to be thus shamefully robbed against God's will.

All claims to be tested by the Scriptures.

Conclusion. In the twelfth place, it is our conclusion and final resolution that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly retract if it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the Scripture. Or if articles should now be conceded to us that are hereafter discovered to be unjust, from that hour they shall be dead and null and without force. Likewise, if more complaints should be discovered which are based upon truth and the Scriptures and relate to offenses against God and our neighbor, we have determined to reserve the right to present these also, and to exercise ourselves in all Christian teaching. For this we shall pray to God, since he can grant our demands, and he alone. The peace of Christ abide with us all.

The demands of the peasants seem moderate and reasonable enough to us, but nearly three hundred years elapsed before they were met by the reforms of the early nineteenth century. Luther's comments on the "Twelve Articles" are very instructive. Article II, on the tithe, he declares to be downright highway robbery, for the peasants would appropriate a source of revenue which belongs to the authorities, not to them. As to Article III, on serfdom, he says:

251. Luther on the "Twelve Articles" (May, 1525).

There should be no serfs, because Christ has freed us all! What is that we hear? That is to make Christian freedom wholly bodily. Did not Abraham and the other patriarchs and prophets have serfs? Read what St. Paul says of servants, who in all times have been serfs. So this article is straight against the gospel, and moreover it is robbery, since each man would take his person from his lord to whom it belongs. A serf can be a good Christian and enjoy Christian liberty, just as a prisoner or a sick man may be a Christian although he is not free. This article would make all men equal and convert the spiritual kingdom of Christ

into an external worldly one ; but that is impossible, for a worldly realm cannot stand where there is no inequality; some must be free, others bond ; some rulers, others subjects. . . .

My counsel would be that a few counts and lords should be chosen from the nobles, and from the towns a few councilors, who should settle the matter peacefully. You lords should unbend your stiff minds a bit, — for you will have to do that sooner or later whether you will or no, — and give up a little of your oppression and tyranny, so that the poor man can have a little space and air. On the other hand, the peasants will have to let a few of their articles go, which are screwed up too high. In this way the matter, even if it cannot be treated in a Christian spirit, can at least be adjusted according to human laws and agreements.

If you will not follow this advice, which God would approve, I must leave you to yourselves. But I am guiltless of your souls, your blood, and your goods. I have told you that you are both wrong and are fighting for the wrong. You nobles are not fighting against Christians, for Christians would not oppose you, but would suffer all. You are fighting against robbers and blasphemers of Christ's name ; those that die among them shall be eternally damned. But neither are the peasants fighting Christians, but tyrants, enemies of God, and persecutors of men, murderers of the Holy Ghost. Those of them who die shall also be eternally damned. And this is God's certain judgment on you both — that I know. Do now what you will so long as you care not to save either your bodies or souls.

The following is a condensation of the account given by Michael Eisenhart, a citizen of Rothenburg on the Tauber, of the conduct of the peasantry during the spring of 1525. The revolt had begun near the lake of Constance, late in the previous December, and had spread from Swabia into Alsace, Franconia, Württemberg, Thuringia, and Saxony. The towns also joined in the movement.

252. The revolt of the peasants and the artisans. (From Eisenhart of Rothenburg; condensed.)

Through the preachers here in Rothenburg, — namely, Caspar Cristian, a priest, and Brother Melchoir, who married the blind monk's sister and held the wedding in Schwarzman's house, — also especially through the efforts of Hans Rotfuchs, the blind monk himself, and another fellow who gave himself out for a peasant, and through certain citizens here in Rothenburg who adhere to the heresy of Luther and Carlstadt, it has come about that bad, false teaching has greatly got the upper hand, owing also to the dissimulation and concessions of some of the town authorities. Dr. Andreas Carlstadt has appeared in person, preached here, and asked to be received as a burgher.

On March 21, a Tuesday, thirty or forty peasants got together in a mob in Rothenburg, bought a kettledrum, and marched about the town, a part going to Pretheim and a part toward Orenbach. They got together again on Thursday and on Friday, as many as four hundred.

The working classes in Rothenburg revolt and form a provisional government.

The working classes in the town now begin to revolt. They cease to obey the authorities and form a committee of thirty-six to manage affairs. Cunz Eberhardt and George Bermeter are meanwhile dispatched to learn what the peasants are doing; but the peasants will give no reply, for they say that they have not all got together yet. A letter is received from Margrave Casimir [of Brandenburg]. This is read to the community. He offers to aid the town authorities and if necessary come in person to reëstablish peace and harmony. The community and their committee of thirty-six treat this scornfully and do not accept the offer.

March 24. This evening between five and six o'clock some one knocked off the head of Christ's image on a crucifix and struck off the arms.

March 25. The town councils are in great danger and anxiety, for they are oppressed by the community and its committee of thirty-six.

March 27. The councilors are forced to pledge their obedience to the community, for they are taken out one by one, guarded by members of the committee of thirty-six. Each thought he was going to be killed, but after taking the

pledge he was secretly sent home without his companions' knowledge.

March 26. Chrischainz, the baker, knocked the missal out of the priest's hand in the chapel of our Lady and drove away the priest from mass. To-day the peasants let themselves be seen in the field outside the Galgenthor.

The following Monday, while the priest was performing service in the parish church and chanting "Adjuva nos, deus salutaris noster," Ernfried Kumpf addressed him rudely, saying that if he wished to save himself he would better leave the altar. Kumpf then knocked the missal on to the floor and drove the scholars out of the choir.

On Tuesday eight hundred peasants came together. Those who would not join them willingly they forced to do so or took their property, as happened to a peasant at Wettring.

On Friday the peasants all gathered, as many as two thousand strong, and camped near Neusitz. Lorenz Knobloch went out to them, and they promised to make him a captain. The same day some of the peasants were sent into the town to give a report of their demands and plans. Meanwhile representatives of the emperor and of the Swabian League arrive with a hope of making peace, but they ride away without accomplishing anything, as did those from Nuremberg.

Demands of the artisans.

On this same day all the artisans were to lay all their complaints and demands before a committee. The taxes, wages, and methods of weighing were discussed. The peasants encamped near Santhof. Friday, April 7, Kueplein, during the sermon, threw the lighted oil lamps about the church. Some of the peasants came into Rothenburg and the neighboring towns, everywhere plundering cupboards and cellars.

Religious revolution.

On Good Friday all services were suspended in the churches of Rothenburg, for there was neither chanting nor preaching except that Dr. John Teuschel preached against emperor, kings, princes, and lords, ecclesiastical and lay, with foul abuse and slander, on the ground that they were hindering God's word.

On Saturday the blind monk, Hans Rotfuchs, spoke contemptuously of the holy sacrament, calling it idolatry and heresy.

On holy Easter there was neither singing nor preaching. Monday Dr. Andreas Carlstadt again attacked the holy sacrament with abusive words. In the night some millers attacked the church at Cobenzell and threw the pictures and images into the Tauber.

April 18. The reforms of the committee are proclaimed. The younger priests may, and should, marry, and may enjoy their benefices for three years. The old priests shall have theirs for life. There is a struggle between Kueplein and his followers, on the one hand, who want to destroy a picture of the Virgin, and the pious old Christians, on the other, who wish to protect it. Some knives are drawn.

April 19. The peasants take three casks of wine from the priest at Scheckenpach and drink it up. Crimes of the peasants.

April 20. The women here in Rothenburg take eleven measures of grain from the house of Conrad Volemar. George Bermeter [one of the revolutionists] is chosen burgomaster.

On the same day, Thursday after Easter, the women run up and down Hafengasse with forks and sticks, declaring that they will plunder all the priests' houses, but are prevented.

Friday. All priests are forced to become citizens, otherwise they would have lost all their goods. They are to take their share of guard duty and work on the fortifications.

On Wednesday (April 26) Lorenz Knobloch was hewn to pieces by the peasants at Ostheim, and then they pelted one another with the fragments. They said he was a traitor and that he wanted to mislead them. Divine retribution! He had said he would not die until he had killed three priests, but, thank God, not one fell into his hands.

April 30. The monastery of Anhausen was plundered and burned in the night, also that near Dinkelsbühl. The peasants also attacked the monastery of Schwarzach, and the castle of Reichelsberg was burned.

May 6. Early in the morning the great bell rang three times, summoning the people to hear a message from Margrave Casimir, brought by three noblemen, and inviting all to take refuge in Rothenburg under his protection. The greater part refused, and some were noted by the margrave's representative, and afterward lost their heads.

Monday. The peasants approach Neuhaus, and next day plunder and burn.

In Rothenburg the citizens are summoned to decide whether, like the neighboring towns of Heilbronn, Dinkelsbühl, and Wimfen, they will aid the peasants. The majority decide to send them guns and pikes, powder and lead.

May 12. The clergy forced to take arms like the rest. All monks are compelled to lay aside their cowls and the nuns their veils.

Rothenburg deserts the empire and joins the peasants.

May 15. The bell summoned the community. In spite of the protests of the old Christians, they are forced to obey the majority, and Rothenburg that day fell away from the empire and joined the peasants. In the meantime a gallows was erected in the market place as a warning, according to their ideas of brotherhood. Supplies were sent to the camp.

Further attack of the peasants on the castle of Würzburg.

May 15. The peasants attack the castle of Würzburg and scale the walls, but are all killed. The peasants attempt to get possession of Rothenburg by conspiracy, but are ejected without bloodshed.

May 21. Certain Hohenlohe peasants burn their lord's castle.

Casimir's revenge.

On the next Monday Margrave Casimir proceeds with his forces to subdue and punish the peasants. Hans Krelein the older, priest at Wernitz, was beheaded, with four peasants, at Leutershausen. Seven have their fingers cut off. Likewise at Neuenstat eighteen burghers and peasants are beheaded. At Kitzingen fifty-eight have their eyes put out and are forbidden to enter the town again.

Defeat of the peasants by the Swabian League.

On Friday before Whitsuntide the forces of the Swabian League slay four thousand peasants at Königshofen.

On Monday after Whitsunday eight thousand peasants are slaughtered by the troops of the League near Büttart

and Sulzdorf. In all these battles the League lost not over one hundred and fifty men.

On June 6 messengers are sent from Rothenburg to Casimir to ask for pardon. Next day others are sent to the League, but they are told that they must surrender unconditionally.

On Thursday following, after the League had retaken the town of Würzburg, they beheaded sixty-two.

After the League had attacked Bamberg they beheaded twenty-one.

On Friday after Corpus Christi, mass was once more chanted in Rothenburg, as formerly.

June 17. Vespers, complines, and matins are once more sung.

On June 23 Dr. John Teuschel and the blind monk Hans are taken and shut up, but several others, including Dr. Andreas Carlstadt, who had done most to stir up trouble, secretly escape.

Entrance of Margrave Casimir into Rothenburg.

On the eve of Peter and Paul's day Margrave Casimir rides into Rothenburg with four hundred horsemen, a thousand footmen, and two hundred wagons full of arms and equipments.

Atrocities of the soldiers.

Next day four hundred foot soldiers belonging to the margrave and the League divide into two parts. One went to the village of Orenbach, which they plundered, and burned the church to the ground. The other went to Pretheim, a fine village. This they plundered, killing a number of people, including the innkeeper, behind a table. They burned the village, including the church, and carried off six hundred head of cattle and thirty carts full of plunder.

June 30. The citizens of Rothenburg are summoned to the market place by a herald and surrounded by pikemen. They are accused of deserting the empire and joining the peasants, and are threatened with the vengeance they deserve.

The names of a number of citizens are read off, and they are beheaded on the spot. Their bodies are left on the market place all day. Some got away through the ring of

soldiers: Lorenz Diem, the sexton, Joseph Schad, a tanner, Fritz Dalck, a butcher, and others, but were nevertheless executed.

July 1. Fifteen more are beheaded in the market place, including the blind monk. All the bodies are left on the market place all day, then buried. All of these died without confession or the last sacrament, and did not even ask for it.

253. Luther, "Against the Murdering and Robbing Bands of the Peasants."

Luther, distracted by the fearful work of the peasants and the boundless discredit which they were bringing upon the name of the gospel, could find no words too terrible in which to urge the princes to annihilate the rebels.

In my preceding pamphlet [on the "Twelve Articles"][1] I had no occasion to condemn the peasants, because they promised to yield to law and better instruction, as Christ also demands (Matt. vii. 1). But before I can turn around, they go out and appeal to force, in spite of their promises, and rob and pillage and act like mad dogs. From this it is quite apparent what they had in their false minds, and that what they put forth under the name of the gospel in the "Twelve Articles" was all vain pretense. In short, they practice mere devil's work, and it is the arch-devil himself who reigns at Mühlhausen,[2] indulging in nothing but robbery, murder, and bloodshed; as Christ says of the devil in John viii. 44, "he was a murderer from the beginning." Since, therefore, those peasants and miserable wretches allow themselves to be led astray and act differently from what they declared, I likewise must write differently concerning them; and first bring their sins before their eyes, as God commands (Isa. lviii. 1; Ezek. ii. 7), whether perchance some of them may come to their senses; and, further, I would instruct those in authority how to conduct themselves in this matter.

[1] See above, p. 99.

[2] Münzer, the most fanatical, perhaps, of the leaders.

With threefold horrible sins against God and men have these peasants loaded themselves, for which they have deserved a manifold death of body and soul.

Three horrible sins of the peasants.

First, they have sworn to their true and gracious rulers to be submissive and obedient, in accord with God's command (Matt. xxii. 21), "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," and (Rom. xiii. 1), "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." But since they have deliberately and sacrilegiously abandoned their obedience, and in addition have dared to oppose their lords, they have thereby forfeited body and soul, as perfidious, perjured, lying, disobedient wretches and scoundrels are wont to do. Wherefore St. Paul judges them, saying (Rom. xiii. 2), "And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." The peasants will incur this sentence, sooner or later; for God wills that fidelity and allegiance shall be sacredly kept.

Second, they cause uproar and sacrilegiously rob and pillage monasteries and castles that do not belong to them, for which, like public highwaymen and murderers, they deserve the twofold death of body and soul. It is right and lawful to slay at the first opportunity a rebellious person, who is known as such, for he is already under God's and the emperor's ban. Every man is at once judge and executioner of a public rebel; just as, when a fire starts, he who can extinguish it first is the best fellow. Rebellion is not simply vile murder, but is like a great fire that kindles and devastates a country; it fills the land with murder and bloodshed, makes widows and orphans, and destroys everything, like the greatest calamity. Therefore, whosoever can, should smite, strangle, and stab, secretly or publicly, and should remember that there is nothing more poisonous, pernicious, and devilish than a rebellious man. Just as one must slay a mad dog, so, if you do not fight the rebels, they will fight you, and the whole country with you.

The princes cannot be too cruel.

Third, they cloak their frightful and revolting sins with the gospel, call themselves Christian brethren, swear allegiance, and compel people to join them in such abominations.

Thereby they become the greatest blasphemers and violators of God's holy name, and serve and honor the devil under the semblance of the gospel, so that they have ten times deserved death of body and soul, for never have I heard of uglier sins. And I believe also that the devil foresees the judgment day, that he undertakes such an unheard-of measure; as if he said, "It is the last and therefore it shall be the worst; I'll stir up the dregs and knock the very bottom out." May the Lord restrain him! Lo, how mighty a prince is the devil, how he holds the world in his hands and can put it to confusion: who else could so soon capture so many thousands of peasants, lead them astray, blind and deceive them, stir them to revolt, and make them the willing executioners of his malice. . . .

And should the peasants prevail (which God forbid!), — for all things are possible to God, and we know not but that he is preparing for the judgment day, which cannot be far distant, and may purpose to destroy, by means of the devil, all order and authority and throw the world into wild chaos, — yet surely they who are found, sword in hand, shall perish in the wreck with clear consciences, leaving to the devil the kingdom of this world and receiving instead the eternal kingdom. For we are come upon such strange times that a prince may more easily win heaven by the shedding of blood than others by prayers.

II. The Augsburg Confession (1530)

254. The Augsburg Confession.

The Augsburg Confession would fill some thirty pages of this volume.[1] The extracts here given relate to some of the most important contentions of the Protestants. They illustrate, too, the moderate and conciliatory tone of the document — which was drawn up by Melanchthon — as compared with Luther's fervid denunciations of the old Church.

[1] A complete English translation is published by the Lutheran Publication Society (Philadelphia) and sold for 10 cents.

Most Invincible Emperor, Cæsar Augustus, Most Clement Master:

Preface, addressed to Charles V. (Condensed.)

Inasmuch as your Imperial Majesty has summoned a diet of the empire at Augsburg to deliberate in regard to resistance to the Turk, the most atrocious hereditary and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion; and moreover to treat of the dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian faith, and in order that, in this matter of religion, the opinions and judgments of the various parties may be considered in each other's presence, in mutual charity, meekness, and gentleness, so that those things which in the writings of either side have been understood amiss, being corrected, all things may be harmonized and brought back to the one simple truth and Christian concord, and that hereafter the one unfeigned and true religion may be embraced and preserved by us, so that, as we are subjects and soldiers of the one Christ, so also, in unity and concord, we may live in the one Christian Church; . . . therefore, in order that we may do homage to the will of your Imperial Majesty, we now offer in the matter of religion the "Confession" of our preachers and of ourselves, the doctrine of which, derived from the Holy Scriptures, and the pure word of God, they have hitherto set forth in our lands, dukedoms, domains, and cities, and have taught in the churches.

In the first part of the Confession the Protestants seek to prove that there is nothing in their doctrines at variance with those of the universal Church, "or even of the Roman Church, so far as that church is known in the writings of the fathers." In the second part they justify themselves for not including in the Confession certain beliefs and practices which they hold to be abuses that had crept into the Church by the fault of the times, as, for example, the monastic vows.

Of perpetual monastic vows.

What is taught amongst us touching the vows of monks will be better understood if one call to mind what has been

the condition of the monasteries, and how many things have every day been committed in them contrary to the rules. In Augustine's time monastic brotherhoods were free; but afterward, when discipline was corrupted, vows were everywhere laid upon them, in order that, by establishing a new kind of prison, the discipline might be restored again. Besides vows, many other observances were added little by little. And these bonds and snares were cast upon many before they came to ripe years, contrary to the rules; many through error fell into this kind of life unawares, who, though they wanted not years, yet wanted discretion to judge of their strength and ability to lead the monastic life. They who were once got within these nets were constrained to abide in them, though, by exceptions provided for in the rules, some might be set at liberty. Conditions were even worse in the monasteries of nuns than in those of monks, although the weaker sex ought more to have been spared.

The monastic life overrated.

This rigor and severity have displeased many good men in the past, when they saw young maids and young men thrust into monasteries merely with a view of having them supported there. . . . To all these evils there was added such an exalted esteem of vows as, is well known, did in former times displease even the monks themselves, — if any of them perchance were somewhat wiser than the rest. The advocates of monasticism taught that vows were equal to baptism; they taught that by this kind of life they merited remission of sins and justification before God; yea, they added that the monk's life did not only merit righteousness before God, but more than that, because it observed not only the commandments but also the counsels of the gospel. And thus they taught that the monk's profession was better than baptism, that the monk's life did merit more than the life of magistrates, of pastors, and such like, who, in obedience to God's commandment, followed their calling, without any such religion of man's making. . . .

The people do also conceive many pernicious opinions from these false commendations of the monastic life. They hear celibacy praised above measure; therefore they do

violence to their conscience if they live in marriage. They hear that mendicants only are perfect; therefore they outrage their conscience if they keep their possessions and buy and sell. Others think that all magistracy and civil offices are unworthy a Christian man. We read of examples of men who, forsaking wedlock and leaving the government of the commonwealth, have hid themselves in monasteries. This they called flying from the world and seeking a kind of life which is more acceptable to God; neither do they see that God is to be served in those commandments which he himself hath delivered, not in the commandments which are devised by men. That is a good and perfect kind of life which hath the commandment of God for it. . . .

Of the temporal power of the clergy.

There have been great controversies touching the power of bishops; in which many have improperly mingled together the ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword. And out of this confusion there have sprung very great wars and tumults; while that the pontiffs, trusting in the power of the keys, have not only appointed new kinds of service, and burdened men's consciences by reserving of cases and by violent excommunications, but have also endeavored to transfer worldly kingdoms from one to another, and to despoil emperors of their power and authority.

The Protestants demand that civil and ecclesiastical concerns be carefully distinguished.

These several faults did godly and learned men long since reprehend in the Church; and for that cause our teachers were compelled, for the comfort of men's consciences, to show the difference between the ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword. And they have taught that both of them, because of God's commandment, are dutifully to be reverenced and honored as the chiefest blessings of God upon earth. . . .

Wherefore the ecclesiastical and civil powers are not to be confounded. The ecclesiastical power hath its own commandment to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. Let it not by force enter into the office of another; let it not transfer worldly kingdoms; let it not abrogate the magistrates' laws; let it not withdraw from them lawful

obedience; let it not hinder judgments touching any civil ordinances or contracts; . . . for Christ saith, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John xviii. 36).

After similar criticisms of various practices in the old Church, the Protestant princes conclude as follows:

Conclusion of the Augsburg Confession.

These are the principal articles which seem to be matters of controversy; for although we might speak of more abuses, yet, that we may avoid undue length, we have mentioned a few only, from which it is easy to judge of the others. Great have been the complaints about indulgences, about pilgrimages, about the abuse of excommunication. The parishes have been vexed in manifold ways by the *stationarii*. Endless contentions have arisen between the pastors and the monks about parochial law, about confession, about burials, about sermons on extraordinary occasions, and about other things without number. Things of this sort we pass over, that the matters of greatest consequence, being briefly set forth, may more easily be noted. Nor has anything been here said or adduced for the purpose of casting reproach on any one. Those things also have been enumerated which it seemed necessary to say, in order that it might be understood that in doctrine and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to Scripture or to the Catholic [i.e. universal] Church, inasmuch as it is manifest that we have diligently taken heed that no new and godless doctrines should creep into our churches. . . .

Your Imperial Majesty's most faithful and humble servants,

John, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
George, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Ernest, Duke of Lüneburg.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.
John Frederick, Duke of Saxony.
Francis, Duke of Lüneburg.
Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.
Senate and Magistracy of Nuremberg.
Senate of Reutlingen.

III. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)

255. Extracts from the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

Charles V delegated to Ferdinand, his brother and successor on the imperial throne, the tedious task of coming to an understanding with the Lutheran party in Germany. The outcome of the negotiations was the Peace of Augsburg, a diffuse document, of which the chief provisions are given below.

Constitution of the Peace between their Imperial and Royal Majesties, on the one hand, and the electors and estates of the realm, on the other:

We, Ferdinand, by God's grace king of the Romans and at all times widener of the empire, king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, infanta of Spain, archduke of Austria, etc., etc., — Whereas, at all the diets held during the last thirty years and more, and at several special sessions besides, there have often been negotiations and consultations to establish between the estates of the Holy Empire a general, continuous, and enduring peace in regard to the contending religions; and several times terms of peace were drawn up, which, however, were never sufficient for the maintenance of peace, but in spite of them the estates of the Empire remained continually in bitterness and distrust toward each other, from which not a little evil has had its origin; . . . to secure again peace and confidence, in the minds of the estates and subjects toward each other, and to save the German nation, our beloved fatherland, from final dissolution and ruin; we, on the one hand, have united and agreed with the electors, the princes and estates present, and with the deputies and embassies of those absent, as they, on the other hand, with us.

General peace throughout the land proclaimed.

1. We therefore establish, will, and command that from henceforth no one, whatsoever his rank or character, for any cause, or upon any pretense whatsoever, shall engage in feuds, or make war upon, rob, seize, invest, or besiege another. Nor shall he, in person or through any agent,

descend upon any castle, town, manor, fortification, villages, estates, hamlets, or against the will of that other seize them wickedly with violence, or damage them by fire or in other ways. Nor shall any one give such offenders counsel or help, or render them aid and assistance in any other way. Nor shall one knowingly or willingly show them hospitality, house them, give them to eat or drink, keep or suffer them. But every one shall love the other with true friendship and Christian love. It is provided also that no estate or member of the Holy Empire shall deprive or cut off any other estate from free access to provisions and food, or interfere with its trade, rents, money, or income; for justice should be administered not irregularly but in suitable and fixed places. In every way shall his Imperial Majesty, and we, and all the estates, mutually adhere to all the contents of this present religious and general constitution for securing the peace of the land.

The emperor engages not to trouble the adherents of the Augsburg Confession.

2. And in order that such peace, which is especially necessary in view of the divided religions, as is seen from the causes before mentioned, and is demanded by the sad necessity of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, may be the better established and made secure and enduring between his Roman Imperial Majesty and us, on the one hand, and the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Empire of the German nation on the other, therefore his Imperial Majesty, and we, and the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Empire will not make war upon any estate of the empire on account of the Augsburg Confession and the doctrine, religion, and faith of the same, nor injure nor do violence to those estates that hold it, nor force them, against their conscience, knowledge, and will, to abandon the religion, faith, church usages, ordinances, and ceremonies of the Augsburg Confession, where these have been established, or may hereafter be established, in their principalities, lands, and dominions. Nor shall we, through mandate or in any other way, trouble or disparage them, but shall let them quietly and peacefully enjoy their religion, faith, church usages, ordinances, and ceremonies, as well as their

possessions, real and personal property, lands, people, dominions, governments, honors, and rights. . . .

The Lutherans not to trouble the Catholics.

3. On the other hand, the estates that have accepted the Augsburg Confession shall suffer his Imperial Majesty, us, and the electors, princes, and other estates of the Holy Empire, adhering to the old religion, to abide in like manner by their religion, faith, church usages, ordinances, and ceremonies. They shall also leave undisturbed their possessions, real and personal property, lands, people, dominions, government, honors, and rights, rents, interest, and tithes. . . .

All Protestants except Lutherans excluded from the peace.

5. But all others who are not adherents of either of the above-mentioned religions are not included in this peace, but shall be altogether excluded.

The "ecclesiastical reservation."

6. And since, in the negotiation of this peace, there has been disagreement about what should be done when one or more of the spiritual estates should abandon the old religion, on account of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelacies, and benefices that were held by them, about which the adherents of both religions could not come to an agreement; therefore, by the authority of the revered Roman Imperial Majesty, fully delegated to us, we have established and do hereby make known, that where an archbishop, bishop, prelate, or other spiritual incumbent shall depart from our old religion, he shall immediately abandon, without any opposition or delay, his archbishopric, bishopric, prelacy, and other benefices, with the fruits and incomes that he may have had from it, — nevertheless without prejudice to his honor.

Church property secularized before 1552 by Protestant princes to be regarded as confiscated.

7. But since certain estates or their predecessors have confiscated certain foundations, monasteries, and other spiritual possessions, and have applied the income of these to churches, schools, charitable institutions, and other purposes, such confiscated property, which does not belong to them, shall (if the holders are immediately subject to the empire and are estates of the empire, and if the clergy did not have possession of the said property at the time of the convention of Passau [1] or since that time) be included in this

[1] A preliminary peace concluded in 1552 at the close of Charles V's last and unsuccessful war with the Protestant princes.

agreement of peace, shall be considered as confiscated, and shall be regulated by the rules governing each estate in dealing with confiscated properties. . . .

. . . . . .

10. No estate shall urge another estate, or the subjects of the same, to embrace its religion.

The prince to establish either of the two religions and his subjects to be free to emigrate.

11. But when our subjects and those of the electors, princes, and estates, adhering to the old religion or to the Augsburg Confession, wish, for the sake of their religion, to go with wife and children to another place in the lands, principalities, and cities of the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Empire, and settle there, such going and coming, and the sale of property and goods, in return for reasonable compensation for serfdom and arrears of taxes, . . . shall be everywhere unhindered, permitted, and granted. . . .

13. And in such peace the free knights who are immediately subject to his Imperial Majesty and us, shall also be included; and it is further provided that they shall not be interfered with, persecuted, or troubled by any one on account of either of the aforesaid religions.

Both religions to be tolerated in the free towns.

14. But since in many free and imperial cities both religions — namely, our old religion and that of the Augsburg Confession — have hitherto come into existence and practice, the same shall remain hereafter and be held in the same cities; and citizens and inhabitants of the said free and imperial cities, whether spiritual or secular in rank, shall peacefully and quietly dwell with one another; and no party shall venture to abolish the religion, church customs, or ceremonies of the other, or persecute them therefor. . . .

. . . . . .

The imperial courts to do justice to Catholics and Protestants alike.

19. Also herewith, and by the authority of this our imperial edict, we command and order the judges of the imperial courts, and their colleagues, to hold and conduct themselves in conformity with this treaty of peace, as well as to give fitting and necessary relief of the law to the appealing suitors themselves, no matter to which of the aforesaid religions they belong, and against all such to recognize and decree no citation, mandate, or process. . . .

Given in the imperial city of Augsburg belonging to us [namely, Charles V], King Ferdinand, and to the Holy Empire, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of September, since the birth of Christ our dear Lord one thousand five hundred and fifty-five, in the twenty-fifth year of our reign as emperor and in the twenty-ninth as ruler of our other realms.

FERDINAND

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN SWITZERLAND AND ENGLAND

I. Zwingli and the Reformation at Zurich

256. The first disputation at Zurich in which Zwingli defended his teachings (1523).

The teachings of Zwingli were regarded by some, including the bishop of Constance, as dangerous if not heretical. In the hope of coming at the truth, the burgomaster of Zurich summoned the clergy of the region to a conference in January, 1523. The discussion given below between Zwingli and the vicar of the bishop of Constance admirably illustrates a great contrast between the Protestant and the Catholic points of view.[1]

Zwingli offers to defend his preaching. (Condensed.)

Then Master Ulrich Zwingli spoke as follows: "Pious brothers in Christ, you know that now in our time, as also for many years heretofore, the pure, clear, and bright light, the word of God, has been so dimmed and confused and darkened with human ambitions and teachings that the majority who call themselves Christians know but little of the divine will. But by their own invented service of God, by their own holiness, by external acts founded upon customs and law, they have gone astray; and the simple-minded have been so influenced by those whom people consider learned guides that they think that such invented external worship is spiritual, although all our true happiness, consolation, and good consist, not in our merits, nor in such external works, but rather alone in Jesus Christ our Saviour. His will and

[1] The extracts here given are taken from the report of Hegenwald, a schoolmaster of Zurich and a friend of Zwingli's. For the whole document, see *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli*, edited by S. M. Jackson, New York, 1901.

true service we can learn and discover only from his true word in the Holy Scriptures and in the trustworthy writings of his twelve apostles, otherwise from no human laws and statutes.

"And although I know that for the past five years I have preached in this city of Zurich nothing but the true, pure, and clear word of God, the holy gospel, — the joyous message of Christ, — still I am maligned by many as a heretic, a liar, a deceiver, and one disobedient to the Christian Church. Wherefore I offer here to justify myself to all who think that my sermons or teachings are unchristian or heretical, and to answer kindly and without anger. Now let them speak, in the name of God. Here I am."

The bishop's vicar replies to Zwingli.

At these remarks of Master Ulrich, the vicar from Constance arose, and answered as follows: "My good fellow-brother, Master Ulrich, asserts that he has always preached the holy gospel here publicly in Zurich, — of which I have no doubt, for who would not truly and faithfully preach the holy gospel and St. Paul, providing God had ordained him as a preacher? For I am also a preacher, or priest, though perhaps unworthy, but nevertheless I have taught those intrusted to me for instruction in the word of God. . . .

"But if there is a desire to dispute and oppose good old customs, the ways and usages of the past, then in such case I say that I shall not undertake to dispute anything here at Zurich. For, as I think, such matters are to be settled by a general Christian assembly of all nations, or by a council of bishops and other scholars such as are found at universities, just as occurred in times past among the holy apostles in Jerusalem, as we read in Acts xv. For if such matters touching the common customs and the laudable usages of the past were here discussed, and some decision reached against them, such changes would perhaps not please other Christians dwelling in other places, who would doubtless assert that they had not consented to our views. For what would those in Spain, in Italy, in France, and in the North, say about it? . . . Accordingly, such matters should, in my opinion, be brought before the universities at Paris,

Cologne, or Louvain." (Here all laughed, for Zwingli interrupted by asking: "How about Erfurt? Would not Wittenberg do?" Then the vicar said, "No, Luther is too near." He also said, "All bad things come from the North.") "There one can find many versed in the Scriptures, who have ability to handle so great subjects." . . .

Zwingli defends the right of discussion.

Then Master Ulrich Zwingli spoke as follows: "Pious brothers in Christ, the worthy lord vicar seeks many evasions and subterfuges, for he claims that he does not desire to discuss the good old customs; but I say that we should not ask here how long this or that custom or habit has prevailed. Our aim is to find out whether a man is bound by divine ordinance to keep that which on account of long usage has been set up as law by men. For we of course think (as also the pope's own decree says) that custom should yield to truth. As to claiming that such matters should be settled by a Christian assembly of all nations, or by a council of bishops, etc., I say that here in this room there is without doubt a Christian assembly. For I hope that the majority of us here desire, by the divine will and love, to hear and know the truth, which Almighty God will not deny us if we desire it to his honor, with right belief and right hearts. For the Lord says, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' . . . There is then, in spite of what the vicar says, no reason why we should not discuss these matters, why we should not speak and decide as to the truth.

"To the objection that the other nations would not consent, I answer that this brings up just the complaint that is made every day against the 'bigwigs,'—the bishops and priests,—namely, that they undertake to keep the pure and clear gospel, the Holy Scriptures, from the common people. For they say that it is not proper for any but themselves to expound the Scriptures, just as though other pious men were not Christians and had nothing to do with the spirit of God, and must be without knowledge of God's word. And there are also some of them who might say that it is improper to publish the secrets of the Divine Scriptures. Would you rob

these thirsty souls of the truth, let them remain in doubt, frighten them by human ordinances, and leave them to live and die in uncertainty as to the truth? Really, my pious brethren, this is no small thing. God will not demand of us what pope, bishop, and council have established and commanded, nor how long this or that has been a laudable and ancient usage; but he will find out how his divine will, word, and commandments have been kept."

At these words of Zwingli's every one remained silent for a time, and no one wanted to say anything, till the burgomaster of Zurich arose and urged any there present who wished to speak upon the matter, or knew anything to say, to step forward. But no one spoke.

Meantime Gutschenkel [a buffoon from Berne], standing in front by the door, cut a ridiculous caper, and cried out: "Where are now the 'bigwigs' that boast so loudly and bravely on the streets? Now step forward! Here is the man. You can all boast over your wine, but here no one stirs." Everybody laughed at that. . . .

The vicar recalls the great heresies of the past.

[The vicar then replied:] "Since I have been summoned by Master Ulrich, I will say, my dear sirs, that some hundreds of years ago it happened that heresy and dissension arose in the Church, the causes and beginners of which were Novatians, Montanists, Sabellians, Ebionites, Marcionites, and others, by whose false teachings and errors many doctrines like these of our times were planted in men, and many believing folk were led astray. Among these heretics some asserted that there was no efficacy in prayers to the dear saints and the Mother of God, or in their intercession; and that purgatory, too, did not exist, but that all these were man's invention, and the like. In order to close up such ways of error many pious bishops and fathers met in many places, at one time in Asia, then in Africa, then somewhere in Greece, that they might hold synods and councils, to put a stop to heresy and such things. And afterward ordinances and decisions were made by the holy fathers and the popes, that such heretical views should not be held, having been rejected by the Christian Church.

"And although this was firmly and irrevocably ratified a long time ago by decrees of the popes and bishops, still later schisms, dissenting parties, and sects have sprung up in Europe, — for instance, the Bohemians and the Beghards, who were led astray by such heretics as Wycliffe and Huss, living contrary to the decrees and ordinances of the holy popes, acting contrary to the regulations of the Christian Church, and putting no faith in the intercession of the saints and still less in purgatory.

"Although such heresy and error were later rejected by all men of Christian belief, and although those who live and remain in such error were considered, recognized, and proclaimed by the holy councils as sundered members of the mother of Christian churches, still one now finds those who stir up these things anew and who undertake to question that which many years ago was recognized and decided upon by pope and bishop as untrue and erroneous. They undertake to drive us from old customs which have endured and stood in honor these seven hundred years, planning to overturn and upset all things. For first they went at the pope, cardinals, and bishops; then they turned all the cloisters topsy-turvy; after that they fell upon purgatory. And finally they ascended to heaven and attacked the saints and great servants of God. St. Peter with his keys, and even our dear Lady, the Mother of God, have not escaped their disgraceful assaults. And I know of some who have gone so far as to attack even Christ himself."

II. Calvin and his Work

Three phases of Calvin's work and influence.

Perhaps the three most important phases of Calvin's work are the following: (1) He was ever the ardent defender of the Protestants, refuting the calumnies and criticisms of their opponents, denouncing the papacy, and exhibiting what he believed to be the weaknesses and fallacies of the Roman Catholic teachings and traditions;

(2) he furnished the Protestants with a text-book of theology, — his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, — which for two or three centuries enjoyed unrivaled authority among a large and influential class in France, Scotland, England, and America; (3) lastly, in the ordinances drawn up under his influence for the city of Geneva, he established a system of government, civil and ecclesiastical, which in its spirit became the ideal of the various English Puritan sects, as well as of those who migrated to Holland and New England.

257. Extracts from Calvin's address to Francis I (1536). (Condensed.)

As a preface to the first edition of his *Institutes*, published at Basel shortly after his flight from France, Calvin prepared an address to King Francis I, in which he briefly states the reasons for the Protestant revolt and exposes the slanders heaped upon his party.

John Calvin, to the most mighty and noble monarch, Francis, the most Christian king of the French, his sovereign prince and lord, with peace and salvation in the Lord:

Aim of the *Institutes*.

When I did first set my hand to this work [i.e. his *Institutes*] I thought nothing less, most illustrious King, than to write anything to be presented to your Majesty. My mind was to teach certain rudiments whereby they that are touched with some zeal of religion might be instructed to true godliness. And this travail I undertook principally for my countrymen, the French, of whom I understood very many to hunger and thirst for Christ, but few had received so much as any little knowledge of him. That this was my purpose the book itself declareth, being framed to a simple and plain manner of teaching.

Calvin adds to his *Institutes* an "Apology" for the Protestants.

But when I perceived that the furious rage of certain wicked men hath so far prevailed in your realm that in it there is no room for sound doctrine, I thought I should do a thing worth my travail if in a single work I should give both instruction for them whom I proposed to instruct, and

send forth an apology to you, whereby you may learn what manner of doctrine that is against which these furious men burn in so great rage, who at this day trouble your realm with sword and fire. For I shall not fear to confess that I have in this work comprehended in a manner the substance of that selfsame doctrine against which they cry out that it ought to be punished with imprisonment, banishment, proscription and fire. . . .

Accusations brought against the Protestants.

You yourself can bear witness, most noble King, with what lying slanders our teachings are daily accused unto you: as that they tend to no other end but to wrest from kings their scepters out of their hands, to throw down all judges' seats and judgments, to subvert all orders and civil governments, to trouble the peace and quiet of the people, to abolish all laws, to undo all proprieties and possessions; finally to turn all things upside down. And yet you hear but the smallest portion, for they spread among the people horrible things, which if they were true, the whole world might worthily judge our cause, with the maintainers thereof, worthy of a thousand fires and gallows. . . .

Wherefore I do not unjustly require, most victorious King, that it may please you to take into your own hands the whole hearing of the cause, which hitherto hath been carelessly tossed about without any order of law, more by outrageous hate than judicial gravity. Nor would I have you think that I here go about to make my own private defense, whereby I may procure to myself a safe return into my native country, to which, while I bear such affection of natural love as becometh me, yet as the case now is I am not miscontent to remain abroad. But I take upon me the common cause of all the godly, yea, and the cause of Christ himself, which at this day, having been by every means torn and trodden down in your kingdom, lieth as it were in despaired case. . . .

Calvin maintains that the Protestant teachings are not new.

[Our detractors call our teaching] new, and lately forged; they cavil that it is doubtful and uncertain; they demand by what miracle it is confirmed; they ask whether it be meet that it should prevail against the consent of so many holy fathers and the most ancient customs; they press upon

us to confess it to be schismatical, which moveth war against the Church, or that the true Church hath lain dead through the many ages in which no such thing hath been heard of. Last of all, they say that they need no arguments, for (say they) it may be judged by its fruits of what sort it is, which, namely, hath bred so big a heap of sects, so many turmoils of sedition, so great licentiousness of vices. Truly, full easy it is for them to triumph over a forsaken cause among the credulous and ignorant multitude, but if we might also have our turn to speak, verily this sharp haste would soon be cooled wherewith they do, licentiously and with full mouth, foam against us.

First, whereas they call it new, they do great wrong to God, whose holy word deserves not to be accused of newness. To them indeed I nothing doubt that it is new, to whom Christ is new, and his gospel is new. But they that know the preaching of Paul to be old, and that Jesus Christ died for our sins and rose again for our justification, shall find nothing new among us. Secondly, that it hath long lain hidden, unknown, and buried, — that is the fault of the ungodliness of men. Sith it is by the bountifulness of God restored to us, it ought at least, by right of full restitution, to receive the title of ancienty.

They may mock at the uncertainty of our teachings, but if they were driven to seal their own doctrine with their own blood and with the loss of their lives, men might see how much they set by it. Far other is our faith, which dreadeth neither the terrors of death nor yet the very judgment seat of God. . . .

Protestants do not assert that the true Church ceased to exist during the Middle Ages.

As for the dilemma into which they would drive us, to compel us to confess that either the Church hath lain dead a certain time, or that we have controversy against the real Church: truly the Church of Christ hath lived and shall live so long as Christ shall reign at the right hand of the Father. . . . But they err not a little from the truth when they acknowledge no church but that which they see with the present eye, and when they affirm that the form of the Church is always to be seen; for they set the true form of the

Church in the see of Rome and in the order of their prelates. We, on the contrary side, affirm both that the Church may consist of no visible form, and that the form itself is not contained in that outward splendor which they foolishly admire, but hath a far other indication, namely, the pure teaching of the word of God and the right ministration of the sacraments. . . .

Thus, O King, is the venomous injustice of slanders so largely spread abroad that you should not too easily believe their reports. . . . Your mind, though it be now turned away and estranged from us, yea, even inflamed against us, yet we trust that we shall be able to recover the favor thereof. But if the whisperings of the malicious do so possess your ears that there is no place for accused men to speak for themselves; and if those outrageous furies do still, with your winking at them, exercise cruelty, with prisoning, tormenting, mutilating, and burning, — then shall we indeed, as sheep appointed to the slaughter, be brought to all extremities, yet so that in our patience we shall possess our soul and wait for the strong hand of the Lord, which shall without doubt be present in time and stretch forth itself armed, both to deliver the poor out of affliction and to take vengeance on the despisers which now triumph with so great assuredness.

The Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne with righteousness and your seat with equity, most noble King.

At Basel, the tenth day before the Kalends of September [1536].

258. Calvin on predestination.

Nothing in Calvin's *Institutes* has made a deeper impression upon posterity than his uncompromising assertion of the doctrine of Predestination.[1]

[1] This is based first and foremost on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans ix. 11–23. A little over a century after Calvin first issued his *Institutes* a great conclave of Presbyterian divines was summoned in England by the Long Parliament to formulate the doctrines of the Church. They held their sessions in Westminster Abbey for several years (1643–1652) and produced the so-called *Westminster Confession*

Adam's fall and "original sin."

[When Adam fell by partaking of the forbidden fruit his sin kindled the horrible vengeance of God upon all mankind.] After the heavenly image of him was defaced he did not alone suffer this punishment, that in place of wisdom, strength, holiness, truth, and justice — with which ornaments he had been adorned — there came in the most horrible pestilences, blindness, weakness, filthiness, emptiness, and injustice, — but also he entangled and drowned his whole offspring in the same misery. This is the corruption that cometh by inheritance, which the old writers called "original sin," meaning by this word the corruption of nature, which before was good and pure. About this matter there has been much contention, because there is nothing further from common reason than that all men should be made guilty for one man's fault, and so sin should become common to all; which seemeth to have been the cause why the oldest doctors of the Church did but darkly touch upon this point, or at least did not set it out plainly, as would have been expedient. . . .

We must be content with this, — that such gifts as it pleased the Lord to have bestowed upon the nature of man he vested in Adam; and therefore when Adam lost them after he had received them, he lost them not only from himself but also from us all. . . . Therefore from a rotten root rose up rotten branches, which sent their rottenness into the twigs that sprang out of them; for so were the children corrupted in their father that they in turn infected their children. . . .

And the apostle Paul himself expressly witnesseth that therefore death came upon all men, because all men have sinned and are wrapped in original sin and defiled with the spots thereof. And therefore the very infants themselves, since they bring with them their own damnation from their mothers' womb, are bound not by another's but by their own fault. For although they have not as yet brought forth

of Faith. While this is based directly upon the Bible, it is in close harmony with Calvin's teachings, and was the form in which Calvinism was perpetuated in England, Scotland, and America.

the fruits of their own iniquity, yet they have the seeds thereof inclosed within them; yea, their whole nature is a certain seed of sin, therefore it cannot but be hateful and abominable to God. . . . This perversity never ceaseth in us but continually bringeth forth new fruits, even the same works of the flesh, like as a burning furnace bloweth out flame and sparkles.

[By this original corruption man is utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. He is no longer free even to will to do good works unless he be helped by God's grace, given only to the elect whom God, for the manifestation of his glory, has elected and chosen unto everlasting life.][1]

Predestination.

Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, whereby he has determined with himself what he wills to become of every man. For all are not created to like estate; but to some eternal life and to some eternal damnation is foreordained. Therefore as every man is created to the one or the other end, so we say that he is predestinate either to life or to death.[2] . . . Foolish men do divers ways quarrel with God, as though they had him subject to their accusations. First, therefore, they ask by what right is the Lord angry with his creatures by whom he hath not first been provoked by any offense; for to condemn to destruction

[1] Cf. *Westminster Confession*, Chapter VI, p. 4.

[2] The English Presbyterian divines at Westminster thus state the doctrine of predestination: "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestined unto everlasting death. These angels and men, thus predestined and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ and unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature as conditions or causes moving him thereunto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace" (*Confession of Faith*, Chapter III, 3–5).

whom he will agreeth rather with the willfulness of a tyrant than with the lawful sentence of a judge. Therefore they say that there is cause why men should accuse God if by his forewill, without their own deserving, they be predestinate to eternal death. If such thoughts do at any time come into the mind of the godly, this shall suffice to break their violent assaults, although they have nothing more, if they consider how great wickedness it is even so much as to inquire of the causes of the will of God. . . . For the will of God is the highest rule of righteousness, that whatsoever he willeth, even for this that he willeth it, ought to be taken for righteous.[1]

Under Farel's influence Geneva espouses Protestantism.

It was not Calvin but Farel, another French Protestant, who first won the city of Geneva from the old Church. Farel (1489–1565) was an ardent missionary of the new faith, who had succeeded in converting several towns in French Switzerland before he went to Geneva in 1533. Owing to his preaching, a general assembly of the people proclaimed (May, 1536) that they wished to live according to the "holy law of the gospel and the word of God" and to desert "all masses, papal ceremonies and abuses, images and idols."

259. Protestant intolerance in Geneva before Calvin's arrival.

Just before Calvin's coming we have the following entry in the city council's register (July 24, 1536):

John Ballard was interrogated wherefore he refused to hear the word of God? He replied that he believed in God, who taught him by his spirit. He could not believe our preachers. He said that we could not compel him to go to

[1] The following is St. Paul's reply to the same query: "Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he [God] yet find fault? For who hath resisted his will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?" (Romans ix. 19 *sqq.*)

the sermon against his conscience. . . . We admonished him that he should within three days obey the proclamation or show just cause why he should not. He replied, "I wish to live according to the gospel of God, but I do not wish to adopt the interpretation of certain individuals, but to follow that of the Holy Spirit through the holy mother Church Universal in which I believe." Asked to say whether he would go to the sermon or no, he replied that his conscience would not permit him to go, and that he would not act against its dictates; for it was directed by a higher authority than that of preachers. Having heard these things, the council ordered that if he did not obey the proclamations, and go to the sermon as established, he and his family should leave the city within ten days.

Calvin's arrival in Geneva (August, 1536).

In August, 1536, Calvin happening to pass through Geneva, expecting to spend but one night there, was seized upon by Farel, who, as Calvin reports, "burning with a marvelous zeal to advance the gospel, made every effort to hold me." Calvin consented to remain.

The town records show that the ministers, Farel, Calvin, and others, were constantly appearing before the town council to denounce sinful practices and suggest reforms. The following plan for exercising control over evil doers by means of excommunication and public censors was submitted to the town authorities by the ministers.

260. Calvin's project for church government submitted to the Geneva town council (January, 1537).

Our Lord established excommunication as a means of correction and discipline, by which those who led a disordered life unworthy of a Christian, and who despised to mend their ways and return to the strait way after they had been admonished, should be expelled from the body of the church and cut off as rotten members until they come to themselves and acknowledge their fault. . . . We have an example given by St. Paul (1 Tim. i and 1 Cor. v), in a solemn warning that we should not keep company with one who is

called a Christian but who is, none the less, a fornicator, covetous, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, or an extortioner. So if there be in us any fear of God, this ordinance should be enforced in our Church.

System of censorship of morals.

To accomplish this we have determined to petition you [i.e. the town council] to establish and choose, according to your good pleasure, certain persons [namely, the elders] of upright life and good repute among all the faithful, likewise constant and not easy to corrupt, who shall be assigned and distributed in all parts of the town and have an eye on the life and conduct of every individual. If one of these see any obvious vice which is to be reprehended, he shall bring this to the attention of some one of the ministers, who shall admonish whoever it may be who is at fault and exhort him in a brotherly way to correct his ways. If it is apparent that such remonstrances do no good, he shall be warned that his obstinacy will be reported to the Church. Then if he repents, there is in that alone excellent fruit of this form of discipline. If he will not listen to warnings, it shall be time for the minister, being informed by those who have the matter in charge, to declare publicly to the congregation the efforts which have been made to bring the sinner to amend, and how all has been in vain.

Should it appear that he proposes to persevere in his hardness of heart, it shall be time to excommunicate him; that is to say, that the offender shall be regarded as cast out from the companionship of Christians and left in the power of the devil for his temporal confusion, until he shall give good proofs of penitence and amendment. In sign of his casting out he shall be excluded from the communion, and the faithful shall be forbidden to hold familiar converse with him. Nevertheless he shall not omit to attend the sermons in order to receive instruction, so that it may be seen whether it shall please the Lord to turn his heart to the right way.

Neighbors invited to expostulate with offenders.

The offenses to be corrected in this manner are those named by St. Paul above, and others like them. When others than the said deputies — for example, neighbors or relatives — shall first have knowledge of such offenses, they

may make the necessary remonstrances themselves. If they accomplish nothing, then they shall notify the deputies to do their duty.

This then is the manner in which it would seem expedient to us to introduce excommunication into our Church and maintain it in its full force; for beyond this form of correction the Church does not go. But should there be insolent persons, abandoned to all perversity, who only laugh when they are excommunicated and do not mind living and dying in that condition of rejection, it shall be your affair to determine whether you should long suffer such contempt and mocking of God to pass unpunished. . . .

If those who agree with us in faith should be punished by excommunication for their offenses, how much more should the Church refuse to tolerate those who oppose us in religion? The remedy that we have thought of is to petition you to require all the inhabitants of your city to make a confession and give an account of their faith, so that you may know who agree with the gospel and who, on the contrary, would prefer the kingdom of the pope to the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

The Genevan council was not ready, however, to adopt and enforce Calvin's plan of excommunication and his system of censors. There was a large party which disliked Calvin and Farel and their puritanical influences. These "liberals"[1] got the upper hand in the town council, and banished Calvin and Farel (April, 1538) for refusing to administer the communion in the manner favored by the council, and for continuing to preach when forbidden to do so. But in two or three years the liberals became unpopular in their turn, and Calvin, after prolonged negotiations, reluctantly consented to return to Geneva, in September, 1541. He was now in a position

[1] The French historians of the seventeenth century call this party *libertins*, which means nothing worse than "liberals."

to hold his own, in spite of the liberals, who nevertheless continued to give him much trouble for many years. He immediately submitted his plan of church government again, and this time it was adopted. He held that our Lord had established four orders of officers for governing his Church, — namely, pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The elders (or presbyters) were laymen appointed to watch over the morals of their fellows, and are so conspicuous in Calvin's plan of organization that they have given their name to the Presbyterian Church. He thus describes them :

261. The duties of the elders, or presbyters.

The office of the elders is to watch over the conduct of every individual, to admonish lovingly those whom they see doing wrong or leading an irregular life. When there is need, they should lay the matter before the body deputed to inflict paternal discipline [i.e. the consistory], of which they are members. As the Church is organized, it is best that the elders be chosen, two from the small council, four from the council of sixty, and six from the council of two hundred[1]; they should be men of good life and honest, without reproach and beyond suspicion, above all God-fearing and endowed with spiritual prudence. And they should be so chosen that they be distributed in each quarter of the city, so that they can have an eye on everything.[2] . . .

The consistory, or session.

The elders, who have been described, shall assemble once a week with the ministers, namely Thursday morning, to see if there be any disorders in the Church and discuss together such remedies as shall be necessary. . . . If any one shall in contempt refuse to appear before them, it shall be their duty to inform the council, so that it may supply a remedy.

[1] This refers to the different bodies which constituted the city government.

[2] It is interesting to compare this conception of excommunication and of government by lay elders with the system of the Catholic Church.

The rules made for the villages under the supremacy of Geneva show the actual scope of the religious control.

262. Extracts from Calvin's regulations for the villages about Geneva.

The whole household shall attend the sermons on Sunday, except when some one shall be left at home to tend the children or cattle.

If there is preaching on week days, all who can must come, — unless there be some good excuse, — so that at least one from each household shall be present. Those who have men-servants or maid-servants shall bring them when it is possible, so that they shall not live like beasts without instruction. . . . Should any one come after the sermon has begun, let him be warned. If he does not amend, let him pay a fine of three sous. Let the churches be closed except during service, so that no one may enter them at other hours from superstitious motives. If any one be discovered engaged in some superstition within or near the church, let him be admonished. If he will not give up his superstition, let him be punished.

Persecution of Catholics

Those who are found to have rosaries or idols to adore, let them be sent before the consistory, and in addition to the reproof they receive there, let them be sent before the council. Let the same be done with those who go on a pilgrimage. Those who observe feasts or papistical fasts shall only be admonished. Those who go to mass shall, besides being admonished, be sent before the council, and it shall consider the propriety of punishing the offenders by imprisonment or special fines, as it judges best.

He who blasphemes, swearing by the body or blood of our Lord, or in like manner, shall kiss the earth for the first offense, pay five sous for the second and ten for the third. He who contradicts the word of God shall be sent before the consistory for reproof, or before the council for punishment, as the case may require. If any one sings indecent, licentious songs, or dances *en virollet* or otherwise, he shall be kept in prison three days and then sent to the council.[1]

[1] There are similar provisions for drunkenness, gambling, quarreling, taking more than five per cent interest, etc.

III. The English Humanists: Colet and More

Erasmus appears to have first visited England in 1499, when he crossed the Channel with a young English nobleman, Lord Mountjoy, to whom he had been giving private instruction in Paris. Erasmus writes:

263. Erasmus meets Sir Thomas More and the young Henry VIII (1499). (Slightly condensed.)

I was staying at Lord Mountjoy's country house, when Thomas More came to see me, and took me out with him for a walk as far as the next village, where the king's children were being educated. When we came into the hall the attendants of the palace were assembled, and in the midst stood Prince Henry, then nine years old, having already something of royalty in his demeanor, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy. On his right was Margaret, about eleven years of age, afterward married to James, king of the Scots.

Erasmus determined to make a short visit to Oxford, and there received a letter of welcome from Colet. To this he graciously replied:

264. Erasmus describes himself. (Slightly condensed.)

If, most courteous Colet, I recognized in myself anything worthy of the meanest praise, I should indeed rejoice to be praised by you, who are of all men most praised, and whose judgment I regard so highly that your silent esteem would be more agreeable to me than if I were acclaimed and applauded by the whole Forum of Rome. . . .

You will find in me a man of slender fortune, or rather of none at all, averse from ambition, most inclined to friendship, little skilled indeed in letters, but a most warm admirer of them; one that religiously venerates goodness in others, but thinks nothing of his own; who is ready to yield to all in learning, to none in honesty; simple, open, free, ignorant alike of simulation and of dissimulation; of a timid but upright character, sparing of words; a person, in short, from whom, except character, you have nothing to expect. If you, Colet, can love such a man; if you deem him worthy

of your friendship, — then set down Erasmus as completely your own.

Erasmus describes Colet.

Your England is delightful to me for many reasons, but most of all because it abounds in that which pleases me more than anything else, — I mean in men most proficient in good letters, among whom, by general consent, I reckon you the chief. Such is your learning that, even without the recommendation of your high character, you deserve to be universally admired; and such is the holiness of your life that, even if you had no learning to commend you, you could not fail to be held in love, respect, and veneration by all.

More writes to a friend of how he spends his days.

265. More's own account of his busy life (1516). (Slightly condensed.)

Whiles I do daily bestow my time about law matters . . . whiles I go one way to see and visit my friend, another way about my own private affairs; whiles I spend all the day abroad among others, and the residue at home among mine own, — I leave to myself — I mean to my book — no time. For when I am come home, I must commune with my wife, chat with my children, and talk with my servants.

All the which things I reckon and account among business, forasmuch as they must of necessity be done; and done must they needs be, unless a man will be a stranger in his own house. And in any wise a man must so fashion and order his condition, and so appoint and dispose himself, that he be merry, jocund, and pleasant among them whom either nature hath provided, or chance hath made, or he himself hath chosen, to be the fellows and companions of his life.

Among these things now rehearsed stealeth away the day, the month, the year. When do I write, then? And all this while have I spoken no word of sleep, neither yet of meat, which among a great number doth waste no less time than doth sleep, wherein almost half the lifetime of man creepeth away. I therefore do win and get only that time which I steal from sleep and meat. Which time, because it is very little, and yet somewhat it is, therefore I have at last, though it be long first, finished my *Utopia*.

IV. Henry VIII, Wolsey, and Queen Catherine

266. A Venetian ambassador's description of Henry VIII, Queen Catherine, and Wolsey

The sagacious Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani, thus describes King Henry VIII, Queen Catherine, and Wolsey, in 1519:

His Majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome; nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the king of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and, as it is reddish, he has now a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious, — hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber, — that is to say, vespers and compline.

The king's athletic tastes.

He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of finest texture. He gambles with the French hostages, to the amount occasionally, it is said, of from six thousand to eight thousand ducats in a day.

He is affable and gracious, harms no one, does not covet his neighbor's goods, and is satisfied with his own dominions, having often said to me, "Sir ambassador, we want all potentates to content themselves with their own territories; we are satisfied with this island of ours." He seems extremely desirous of peace.

He is very rich. His father left him ten millions of ready money in gold, of which he is supposed to have spent one half in the war against France, when he had three armies

on foot: one crossed the Channel with him, another was in the field against Scotland, and the third remained with the queen in reserve. . . .

Queen Catherine.

The queen is the sister of the mother of the king of Spain, now styled King of the Romans. She is thirty-five years old and not handsome, though she has a very beautiful complexion. She is religious, and as virtuous as words can express. I have seen her but seldom.

Cardinal Wolsey.

The cardinal of York is of low origin, and has two brothers, one of whom holds an untitled benefice, and the other is pushing his fortune. He rules both the king and the entire kingdom. On my first arrival in England he used to say to me, "His Majesty will do so and so." Subsequently, by degrees, he forgot himself, and commenced saying, "We shall do so and so." At this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, "I shall do so and so." He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He alone transacts as much business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

Henry VIII proposes to divorce Catherine.

Early in 1527 King Henry VIII determined to obtain a divorce from Catherine, and soon announced to her that they must separate. Wolsey then reluctantly induced Pope Clement VII to send a legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to England, who, with Wolsey, was to hold a court to determine whether the dispensation granted to Henry to marry his brother's widow was sufficient and valid under the circumstances. The trial was begun in May, 1529. When Queen Catherine was called upon in court she rose from her chair and came to the king, and, kneeling down at his feet, said:

"Sir, in what have I offended you? or what occasion of displeasure have I given you, intending thus to put me from

267. Queen Catherine's protest against Henry's plan to rid himself of her (1529).

you? I take God to be my judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure; never contradicting or gainsaying you in anything; being always contented with all things wherein you had any delight or took any pleasure, without grudge, or countenance of discontent or displeasure. I loved, for your sake, all them whom you loved, whether I had cause or no; whether they were my friends or my enemies.

"I have been your wife these twenty years or more, and you have had by me divers children; and when you had me first, I take God to be my judge, that I was a maid. Whether it be true or no, I put it to your own conscience. If there be any just cause that you can allege against me, either of dishonesty, or matter lawful to put me from you, I am content to depart, to my shame and confusion; and if there be none, then I pray you to let me have justice at your hands.

"The king, your father, was, in his time, of such an excellent wit, that he was accounted amongst all men for wisdom to be a second Solomon; and the king of Spain, my father, Ferdinand, was accounted one of the wisest princes that had reigned in Spain for many years. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counselors unto them, of every realm, as in their wisdom they thought meet. And I conceive that there were in those days as wise and well-learned men, in both the realms, as be now at this day, who thought the marriage between you and me good and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to me what new inventions are now invented against me. And now to put me to stand to the order and judgment of this court seems very unreasonable. . . . I humbly pray you to spare me until I may know what counsel my friends in Spain will advise me to take; and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled." And with that she rose up and departed, nevermore appearing in any court.

Catherine's friends, however, induced the pope to evoke the case to Rome, and so quite removed the

whole matter from Wolsey's control. He thereby forfeited the king's favor, and Sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor in his stead. A few months after the trial (October, 1529) we find Wolsey writing piteously to the disappointed monarch.

268. Wolsey's piteous appeal to Henry VIII (October, 1529).

Most gracious and merciful Sovereign Lord:

Though that I, your poor, heavy, and wretched priest, do daily pursue, cry, and call upon your Royal Majesty for grace, mercy, remission, and pardon, yet in most humble wise I beseech your Highness not to think that it proceedeth of any mistrust that I have in your merciful goodness, nor that I would encumber or molest your Majesty by any indiscreet or inopportune suit; but that the same only cometh of an inward and ardent desire that I have continually to declare unto your Highness how that, wot unto God, I neither desire nor covet anything in this world but the attaining of your gracious favor and forgiveness of my trespass.

And for this cause I cannot desist nor forbear, but to be a continual and most lowly suppliant to your benign grace. For surely, most gracious king, the remembrance of my folly, with the sharp word of your Highness' displeasure, hath so penetrated my heart that I cannot but lamentably cry and say, "It is sufficient." Now withhold thy hand, most merciful king. Forgive and ye shall be forgiven. . . .

Your Grace's most prostrate, poor chaplain,
creature, and beadsman,
THOMAS, Cardinal York, most unhappy.

V. HENRY VIII REPUDIATES THE HEADSHIP OF THE POPE

The pope excommunicated Henry in 1533 for repudiating Catherine. The king replied by extorting from the English bishops, abbots, and priests written acknowledgments that the Roman pontiff had no more authority than any other foreign bishop. In the spring of 1534 Parliament passed an act regulating the succession to

the crown. This declared Henry's marriage with Catherine void and against the laws of Almighty God; his marriage with Anne Boleyn was pronounced good and consonant with God's laws. The crown was to descend to Anne's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, unless she should have sons by the king. Then follows a harsh provision.

269. Extract from the first Act of Succession (1534). (Condensed.)

. . . If any person or persons, of what estate, dignity, or condition soever they be, maliciously, by writing, print, deed, or act, procure or do any thing or things to the prejudice, slander, or derogation of the said lawful matrimony solemnized between your Majesty and the said Queen Anne, or to the peril or slander of any of the heirs of your Highness, being limited by this act to inherit the crown of this realm, every such person and persons, and their aiders and abettors, shall be adjudged high traitors, and every such offense shall be adjudged high treason, and the offenders, and their aiders and abettors, being lawfully convicted, shall suffer pain of death, as in cases of high treason.

Treason to question the lawfulness of Henry's marriage with Anne.

[All are to be sworn] truly, firmly, and constantly, without fraud or guile, to observe, fulfill, maintain, and keep, to their cunning, wit, and the utmost of their powers, the whole effects and contents of this present act.

The Act of Supremacy, given below in full, was passed by Parliament in November, 1534. It does little more than sum up briefly what had already been done.

270. The Act of Supremacy (November, 1534).

Albeit the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord,

his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia;* and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honors, dignities, preëminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of the supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm; any usage, foreign law, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

271. Execution of Fisher and More. (From Hall's *Chronicle.*)

Numbers of conscientious persons were now arrested for declining to swear that the king's first marriage was void, and for refusing to adjure the supremacy of the pope. The most distinguished victims were Bishop Fisher, who had supported Catherine, and Sir Thomas More, who refused to pronounce on the matter. Accordingly:

John Fisher beheaded for treason (1535).

The twenty-second day of the same month John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was beheaded, and his head set upon London Bridge. This bishop was of very many mer lamented; for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and a man of very good life, but therein wonderfully deceived, for he maintained the pope to be supreme head of the Church, and very maliciously refused the king's title of supreme head. It was said that the pope, for that he held so manfully with him and stood so stiffly in his cause,

did elect him cardinal, and sent the cardinal's hat as far as Calais, but the head it should have stood on was as high as London Bridge before the hat could come to Bishop Fisher. . . .

Execution of Sir Thomas More.

Also the sixth day of July was Sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehearsed, which, as you have heard, was for the denying of the king's Majesty's supremacy. This man was also counted learned, and, as you have heard before, he was lord chancellor of England, and in that time a great persecutor of such as detested the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, which he himself so highly favored that he stood to it until he was brought to the scaffold on the Tower Hill, where on a block his head was stricken from his shoulders and had no more harm.

I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise man or a wise foolish man, for undoubtedly he, beside his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him that he thought nothing to be well spoken except he had ministered some mock in the communication, insomuch as at his coming to the Tower one of the officers demanded his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, and he answered he should have it and took him his cap, saying that it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him and besought him to declare that he had certain evidence of hers in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by), and that he would entreat she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered, "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all business, and help thee himself." Also when he went up the stair on the scaffold he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again let me shift for myself as well as I can."

Also the hangman kneeled down to him asking him forgiveness of his death (as the manner is), to whom he said,

"I forgive thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty of the striking of my head, my neck is so short." Also even when he should lay down his head on the block he, having a great gray beard, struck out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block lest ye should cut it." Thus with a mock he ended his life.

VI. Church Reforms of Henry VIII

Henry VIII was no Protestant. He cruelly enforced the acceptance by his subjects of the old beliefs of the Roman Catholic Church, except that concerning the supremacy of the pope. Nevertheless, as "supreme head" of the English Church, he introduced some momentous changes: (1) He brought the clergy completely under his despotic control, and even issued ordinances relating to the Church without submitting them to the clergy at all. (2) He approved the reading of the Bible in English, and (3) ordered that the services be conducted in English instead of Latin. (4) Lastly, he did away with all the monasteries, great and small, and appropriated their lands. Thousands of men and women were in consequence cast adrift, and toward a third of all the lands in England are supposed to have been involved.

The following is an extract from an account of the destruction of the monasteries, written about 1591 by one whose father and uncle witnessed the acts of the visitors in some parts.

272. An account of the destruction of the monasteries.

As soon as the visitors [i.e. the king's commissioners] were entered within the gates, they called the abbot and other officers of the house, and caused them to deliver up to them all their keys, and took an inventory of all their goods

both within doors and without; for all such beasts, horses, sheep, and such cattle as were abroad in pasture or grange places, the visitors caused to be brought into their presence, and when they had done so, turned the abbot with all his convent and household forth of the doors.

Which thing was not a little grief to the convent, and all the servants of the house departing one from another, and especially such as with their conscience could not break their profession; for it would have made a heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking up of these houses and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the house. And every person had everything good cheap, except the poor monks, friars, and nuns, that had no money to bestow on anything. . . .

Such persons as afterward bought their corn and hay, or such like, found all the doors either open, the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found, — filched it away. Some took the service books that lied in the church, and laid them upon their waine coppes to piece the same. Some took windows of the hayleith and hid them in their hay; and likewise they did of many other things, for some pulled forth the iron hooks out of the walls that bought none, when the yeomen and gentlemen of the country had bought the timber of the church. For the church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the abbott's lodging, dorter, and frater, with the cloister and all the buildings thereabout within the abbey walls. . . . It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of lead there was and plucking up of boards and throwing down of the spars; when the lead was torn off and cast down into the church and the tombs in the church all broken (for in most abbeys were divers noble men and women, — yea, and in some abbeys, kings, whose tombs were regarded no more than the tombs of all other inferior persons; for to what end should they stand when the church over them was not spared for their cause!), and all things of Christ either spoiled, carped away, or defaced to the uttermost.

The persons that cast the lead into fodders plucked up all the seats in the choir wherein the monks sat when they said service, — which were like to the seats in minsters, — and burned them and melted the lead therewith all, although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them. . . .

VII. Protestantism established in England under Edward VI (1547–1553)

It was the task of the advisers of Edward VI to determine what should be the doctrines and rites in the new English Protestant state church. When the beliefs and religious services sanctioned by the government had been duly established by issuing an official book of prayer and the "Articles of Religion," it became necessary to enforce uniformity by punishing, on the one hand, "revilers," who went too far to suit the government, and, on the other, Roman Catholics, who refused to go far enough. At the opening of Edward's reign a statute was directed against the extremists who spoke against the Lord's Supper.

273. Revilers of the Lord's Supper to be imprisoned (1547). (Slightly condensed.)

[Although the most comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, and in Scripture, the supper and table of the Lord, was instituted of no less author than of our Saviour,] yet the said sacrament has been of late marvelously abused by such manner of men before rehearsed, who of wickedness, or else of ignorance and want of learning, for certain abuses heretofore committed by some, in misusing thereof, having condemned in their hearts and speech the whole thing, and contemptuously depraved, despised, or reviled the same most holy and blessed sacrament, and not only disputed and reasoned unreverently and ungodly of that most high mystery, but also, in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, plays, or

jests, name or call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed.

Penalty for such reviling.

For reformation whereof, be it enacted by the king's Highness, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, that whatsoever person or persons, from and after the first day of May next coming, shall deprave, despise, or contemn the said most blessed sacrament, in contempt thereof, by any contemptuous words, or by any words of depraving, despising, or reviling, contrary to the effects and declarations abovesaid, that then he or they shall suffer imprisonment of his or their bodies, and make fine and ransom at the king's will and pleasure.

From the several acts issued in the hope of securing uniformity, the following is taken as one example of the efforts of the government to abolish certain practices of the Catholics.

274. An act for the abolishing and putting away of diverse books and images (1547). (Condensed.)

Whereas, the king's most excellent Majesty hath of late set forth and established by authority of the Parliament an uniform, quiet, and godly order for common prayer in a book entitled, *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments*, to be used and observed in the said Church of England, agreeably to the order of the primitive Church, much more comfortable unto his loving subjects than other diversity of service, as heretofore of long time hath been used. . . . Be it enacted therefore by the king, our sovereign lord, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, that all books called antiphonaries, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pies, portuasses, primers in Latin and English, etc., hitherto used for service of the Church, written or printed in the English or Latin tongue, other than such as are or shall be set forth by the king's Majesty, shall be by authority of this present act clearly and utterly abolished, extinguished, and forbidden forever to be used or kept in the realm.

And be it further enacted, that if any person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, that now have or hereafter shall have in his, her, or their custody, any books or writings of the sorts aforesaid, or any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any church or chapel, or yet stand in any church or chapel, and do not before the last day of June next ensuing deface and destroy, or cause to be defaced and destroyed, the same images, and deliver all and every the same books to the mayor, bailiff, constable, or church wardens of the town where such books then shall be, to be by them delivered over openly within three months to the archbishop, bishop, or chancellor, to the intent the said archbishop, bishop, or chancellor cause them immediately either to be openly burned or otherwise defaced and destroyed, shall for every such book or books willingly retained in his, her, or their hands or custody within the realm, or elsewhere within any of the king's dominions, after the last day of June (and be therefore lawfully convict) forfeit and lose to the king, our sovereign lord, for the first offense twenty shillings, and for the second offense shall forfeit and lose (being therefore lawfully convict) four pounds, and for the third offense shall suffer imprisonment at the king's will.[1]

[1] Extracts from the diary of the bishop of Worcester give a vivid idea of the changes during the first years of Edward VI:

1547. *Candlemas Day:* No candles hallowed or borne Ash Wednesday. No ashes.

1548. *March 25, Palm Sunday:* No palms or cross borne in procession. *Easter Eve:* No fire, but the paschal taper and the font. *Easter Day:* The pyx, with the sacrament, taken out of the sepulcher, they singing "Christ is Risen" without procession. *Good Friday:* No creeping to the cross. *October 20:* The cup and the body of Christ was taken away from the altars.

1549. *Good Friday:* No sepulcher, or service of sepulcher. *Easter Eve:* No paschal taper, or fire, or incense, or font. *On April 23:* Mass, matins, evensong, and all other service in English.

All mass books, graduals, pies, portasses, and legends brought to the bishop and burned. (From Bishop Blandford's diary, quoted in Traill, *Social England*, Vol. III, 180 *sq.*)

VIII. The Catholic Reaction under Queen Mary (1553–1558)

The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michele, made a report to his government in 1557 on the state of England. He thus describes Queen Mary and her husband, Philip II:

275. A Venetian ambassador's account of Queen Mary (1557).

Queen Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and of his queen Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Aragon, is a princess of great worth. In her youth she was rendered unhappy by the event of her mother's divorce; by the ignominy and threats to which she was exposed after the change of religion in England, she being unwilling to unbend to the new one; and by the dangers to which she was exposed by the duke of Northumberland, and the riots among the people when she ascended the throne.

She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very shortsighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, — English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work, such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high-spirited, courageous, and resolute, having during the whole course of her adversity not been guilty of the least approach to meanness of deportment; she is, moreover, devout and stanch in the defense of her religion.

Some personal infirmities under which she labors are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent bloodletting, and this is the real cause of her paleness and the general weakness of

her frame. These have also given rise to the unfounded rumor that the queen is in a state of pregnancy. The cabal she has been exposed to, the evil disposition of the people toward her, the present poverty and the debt of the crown, and her passion for King Philip, from whom she is doomed to live separate, are so many other causes of the grief with which she is overwhelmed. She is, moreover, a prey to the hatred she bears my Lady Elizabeth, and which has its source in the recollection of the wrongs she experienced on account of her mother, and in the fact that all eyes and hearts are turned towards my Lady Elizabeth as successor to the throne. . . .

Description of Philip II.

King Philip is of short stature, but his person appears to advantage both when armed and in common attire. Though of great affability and politeness, his character is marked with gravity. His understanding is good and his judgment correct. Besides Spanish, he knows Latin, French, and Italian. He is also liberal and religious, but without possessing either the dignity or the ambition of his father. . . . As to his authority in England, your Serene Highness may be assured that in all affairs of importance, whether public or private, he is made to act precisely the same part as if he were the natural king of England, and this on account of the great respect and love with which he is treated by the queen and Cardinal Pole. Sensible, however, that he is new in this kingdom, he modestly, and wisely too, leaves everything to the management of the queen and the cardinal [Pole]. He receives petitions, but more in the character of mediator than as a patron, letting justice take its course in criminal cases, but frequently stepping forward to procure pardon or mitigation of punishment after conviction. . . .

Indifference of the English to religion.

Religion, although thriving in this country, is, I apprehend, in some degree the offspring of dissimulation. The queen is far from being lukewarm; she has already founded ten monasteries, and is about to found more. Generally speaking, your Serene Highness may rest assured that with the English the example and authority of the sovereign is everything, and religion is only so far valued as it inculcates the

duty due from the subject to the prince. They live as he lives, they believe as he believes, and they obey his commands, not from any inward moral impulse, but because they fear to incur his displeasure; and they would be full as zealous followers of the Mohammedan or Jewish religions did the king profess either of them, or command his subjects to do so. In short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit.

Mary proclaimed, immediately after her accession, that she proposed to adhere to the religion which she had ever professed from her infancy, "which her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace during her time, so doth her Highness much desire and would be glad the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced." She speedily repealed the church legislation of Edward's reign; then, by a second act of repeal (1554), that of Henry VIII, thus restoring the conditions which had existed before 1529. She wished to give back the church property, but this was deemed impossible. She revived the old heresy acts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The following order for the execution of Bishop Hooper may serve as an example of her policy toward heretics.

276. Mary's directions for executing a heretical bishop.

Right trusty and well beloved, etc.:

Whereas John Hooper, who of late was called bishop of Rochester and Gloucester, by due order of the laws ecclesiastic, condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false, detestable heretic, and committed to our secular power, to be burned according to the wholesome and good laws of our realm in that case provided; forasmuch as in those cities, and the diocese thereof, he has in times past preached and taught most pestilent heresies and doctrine to our subjects there, we have therefore given order that the said Hooper,

who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercy when it was graciously offered, shall be put to execution in the said city of Gloucester, for the example and terror of such as he has there seduced and mistaught, and because he hath done most harm there. . . . And forasmuch also as the said Hooper is, as heretics be, a vainglorious person, and delighteth in his tongue, and, having liberty, may use his said tongue to persuade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable opinion that he hath sown among them, our pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take order, that the said Hooper be neither, at the time of his execution, nor in going to the place thereof, suffered to speak at large, but thither to be led quietly and in silence, for eschewing of further infection and such inconvenience as may otherwise ensue in this part. Wherefore fail not, as ye tender our pleasure.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION: PHILIP II

I. The Decrees of the Council of Trent

277. Extracts from the Acts of the Council of Trent.

The decrees of the Council of Trent constitute the most important monument of the Catholic Reformation. These fall into three groups: (1) those which define and explain the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and defend them against the objections raised by the Protestants; (2) those which succinctly and explicitly declare accursed the various heretical beliefs; and (3) lastly, a great number of reform decrees abolishing the various abuses and enforcing a more rigid discipline among the clergy and monks. The following extracts will serve at once to illustrate the spirit and method of the council and to make clear some of those Roman Catholic tenets which have been most bitterly attacked and most often misrepresented by Protestants.

On confession. (Somewhat condensed.)

The universal Church has always understood that the complete confession of sins was instituted by the Lord, and is of divine right necessary for all who have fallen into sin after baptism; because our Lord Jesus Christ, when about to ascend from earth to heaven, left priests, his own vicars, as leaders and judges, before whom all the mortal offenses into which the faithful of Christ may have fallen should be carried, in order that, in accordance with the power of the keys, they may pronounce the sentence of forgiveness or of retention of sins. For it is manifest that priests could not have exercised this judgment without knowledge of the case;

neither could they have observed equity in enjoining punishments, if the said faithful declared their sins in general only instead of specifically and one by one. Whence it is gathered that all the mortal sins of which penitents, after a diligent examination of themselves, are conscious must needs be enumerated in confession.

Only mortal sins need be confessed.

Venial sins, whereby we are not excluded from the grace of God, and into which we fall more frequently, although they may be included rightly and profitably, and without any presumption, in confession, as the custom of pious persons shows, yet they may be omitted without guilt and be expiated by many other remedies. But since all mortal sins, even those of thought, render men "children of wrath" and enemies of God, it is necessary to seek pardon from God for every mortal sin by a full and modest confession. . . .

Answer to Protestant objections.

It is impious to assert that confession, thus enjoined, is impossible, or to call it "a slaughter-house of consciences"; for it is certain that in the Church nothing more is required of penitents, except that, after each has examined himself diligently, and searched all the folds and recesses of his conscience, he confess those sins which he shall remember, by which he has mortally offended his Lord and God; whilst the other sins, which do not occur to him after diligent thought, are understood to be included as a whole in that same confession; for which sins we confidently say with the prophet, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults."

On the invocation and veneration of saints and their images

This holy Council enjoins on all bishops and others who are charged with teaching, that they instruct the faithful diligently concerning the intercession and invocation of saints, the honor paid to relics, and the legitimate use of images. Let them teach that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer up their own prayers to God for men; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers and aid in obtaining benefits from God, through his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our sole Redeemer and Saviour; and that those persons think impiously who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal

happiness in heaven, are to be invoked ; or who assert that the saints do not pray for men, or that the invocation of them to pray for each of us individually is idolatry ; or who declare that it is repugnant to the word of God, and opposed to the honor of the "one mediator of God and men, Christ Jesus," or that it is foolish to supplicate, orally or mentally, those who reign in heaven.

Of relics.

They shall likewise teach that the holy bodies of martyrs, and of others now living with Christ, — which bodies were the living members of Christ, and "the temple of the Holy Ghost," and which are by him to be raised unto eternal life, and to be glorified, — are to be venerated by the faithful, through which relics many benefits are bestowed by God on men. Consequently they who affirm that veneration and honor are not due to the relics of saints, or that these and other sacred memorials are uselessly honored by the faithful, and that the places dedicated to the memories of the saints are visited in vain with the view of obtaining their aid, are wholly to be condemned, as the Church has already long since condemned, and now also condemns, them.

Veneration of images.

Moreover they shall teach that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained particularly in churches, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them ; not that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them on account of which they are to be worshiped ; or that anything is to be asked of them ; or that trust is to be reposed in images, as was of old done by the heathen who placed their hope in idols ; but because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent ; in such wise that by means of the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ, and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear. . . .

The following decrees are examples of the brief paragraphs in which the council rejects and anathematizes the various doctrines of the Protestants.

If any one saith that the New Testament does not provide for a distinct, visible priesthood; or that this priesthood has not any power of consecrating and offering up the true body and blood of the Lord, and of forgiving and retaining sins, but is only an office and bare ministry of preaching the gospel; or that those who do not preach are not priests at all; let him be anathema. . . .

277a. Those who reject the hierarchy and the sacraments declared accursed.

If any one saith that by sacred ordination the Holy Ghost is not given, and that vainly therefore do the bishops say, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; or that a character is not imprinted by that ordination; or that he who has once been a priest can again become a layman; let him be anathema. . . .

If any one saith that in the Catholic Church there is not a hierarchy instituted by divine ordination, consisting of bishops, priests, and ministers; let him be anathema.[1]

If any one saith that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord; or that they are more or less than seven, to wit, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament; let him be anathema.

Of the reform decrees, the following relating to the conduct and teaching of the clergy may be cited.

277b. Bishops and priests should carefully explain the sacraments to the people.

In order that the faithful may approach and receive the sacraments with greater reverence and devotion of mind, this holy Council enjoins on all bishops that, not only when they are themselves about to administer them to the people they shall first explain, in a manner suited to the capacity of those who receive them, the efficacy and use of those sacraments, but they shall endeavor that the same be done piously and prudently by every parish priest; and this even in the vernacular tongue, if need be, and if it can be conveniently done.

Such instruction shall be given in accordance with the form which will be prescribed for each of the sacraments by

[1] Compare Luther's and Calvin's doctrines above, pp. 76 *sq.*, 81 *sq.*, and 133.

The catechism.

this holy Council in a catechism, which the bishops shall take care to have faithfully translated into the vulgar tongue, and to have expounded to the people by all parish priests. They shall also explain in the said vulgar tongue, during the solemnization of mass, or the celebration of the divine offices, on all festivals or solemnities, the sacred oracles and the maxims of salvation; and, setting aside all unprofitable questions, they shall endeavor to impress them on the hearts of all, and to instruct their hearers in the law of the Lord.

277c. Prelates should live frugally as an example to others.

It is to be desired that those who undertake the office of bishop should understand what their portion is, and comprehend that they are called, not to their own convenience, not to riches or luxury, but to labors and cares, for the glory of God. For it is not to be doubted that the rest of the faithful also will be more easily excited to religion and innocence if they shall see those who are set over them not fixing their thoughts on the things of this world, but on the salvation of souls and on their heavenly country. Wherefore this holy Council, being minded that these things are of the greatest importance towards restoring ecclesiastical discipline, admonishes all bishops that, often meditating thereon, they show themselves conformable to their office by their actual deeds and the actions of their lives; which is a kind of perpetual sermon; but, above all, that they so order their whole conversation that others may thence be able to derive examples of frugality, modesty, continency, and of that holy humility which so much commends us to God.

Wherefore, after the example of our fathers in the Council of Carthage, this Council not only orders that bishops be content with modest furniture, and a frugal table and diet, but that they also give heed that in the rest of their manner of living, and in their whole house, there be nothing seen which is alien to this holy institution, and which does not manifest simplicity, zeal toward God, and a contempt of vanities.

Nepotism forbidden.

It strictly forbids them, moreover, to strive to enrich their own kindred or domestics out of the revenues of the Church;

seeing that even the canons of the apostles forbid them to give to their kindred the property of the Church, which belongs to God; but if their kindred be poor, let them distribute to them thereof as poor, but not misapply or waste the Church's goods for their sakes: yea, this holy Council, with the utmost earnestness, admonishes them completely to lay aside all this human and carnal affection towards brothers, nephews, and kindred, which is the seed plot of many evils in the Church. And what has been said of bishops, the same is to be observed by all who hold ecclesiastical benefices, whether secular or regular, each according to the nature of his rank. . . .

II. The Society of Jesus

278. The first approval of the Society of Jesus by Paul III. (Condensed.)

Paul, the bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memorial of this matter:

. . . Of late we have learned that our beloved sons Ignatius de Loyola, Peter Faber, James Laynez, Claude le Jay, Pasquier Brouet, Francis Xavier, Alfonzo Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Codure, and Nicholas de Boabdilla, priests, masters of arts, and graduates of the University of Paris, and students of some years' standing in theology, inspired, as they piously believe, by the Holy Spirit, assembled together and, forming an association, forsook the allurements of the age to dedicate their lives to the perpetual service of our Lord Jesus Christ and of ourselves and our successors, the Roman pontiffs.

Now for many years they have labored nobly in the vineyard of the Lord, publicly preaching the word of God under a tentative license, privately exhorting the faithful to a good and blessed life and stimulating them to holy thoughts, assisting in hospitals, instructing the young and ignorant in the truths essential for the development of a Christian, and performing all these offices of charity and acts for the consolation of souls with great approbation in whatever lands they have visited.

Then, gathering in this beautiful city and remaining within its confines in order to complete and preserve the union of their society in Christ, they have drawn up a rule of life in accordance with the principles which they have learned by experience will promote their desired ends, and in conformity with evangelical precepts and the canonical sanctions of the fathers. The tenor of the aforesaid rule is as follows:

The rule of the Jesuits.

He who desires to fight for God under the banner of the cross in our society, — which we wish to distinguish by the name of Jesus, — and to serve God alone and the Roman pontiff, his vicar on earth, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, shall set this thought before his mind, that he is a part of a society founded for the especial purpose of providing for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith through public preaching and the ministry of the word of God, spiritual exercises and deeds of charity, and in particular through the training of the young and ignorant in Christianity and through the spiritual consolation of the faithful of Christ in hearing confessions; and he shall take care to keep first God and next the purpose of this organization always before his eyes. . . .

Purposes of the society.

Special obedience to the pope.

All the members shall realize, and shall recall daily, as long as they live, that this society as a whole and in every part is fighting for God under faithful obedience to one most holy lord, the pope, and to the other Roman pontiffs who succeed him. And although we are taught in the gospel and through the orthodox faith to recognize and steadfastly profess that all the faithful of Christ are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as the vicar of Jesus Christ, yet we have adjudged that, for the special promotion of greater humility in our society and the perfect mortification of every individual and the sacrifice of our own wills, we should each be bound by a peculiar vow, in addition to the general obligation, that whatever the present Roman pontiff, or any future one, may from time to time decree regarding the welfare of souls and the propagation of the

faith, we are pledged to obey without evasion or excuse, instantly, so far as in us lies, whether he send us to the Turks or any other infidels, even to those who inhabit the regions men call the Indies; whether to heretics or schismatics, or, on the other hand, to certain of the faithful.

Wherefore those who come to us shall reflect long and deeply, before they take this burden upon their shoulders, as to whether they have among their goods enough spiritual treasure to enable them, according to the Lord's precept, to carry out their enterprise, — that is, whether the Holy Spirit who impels them promises them so much grace that they may hope to support the weight of this profession with his aid; then, after they have, under God's inspiration, been enrolled in this army of Jesus Christ, day and night must they have their loins girded and themselves in readiness for the payment of their mighty obligation. Nor shall there be amongst us any ambition or rivalry whatsoever for missions and provinces. . . . Subordinates shall, indeed, both for the sake of the wide activities of the order and also for the assiduous practice, never sufficiently to be commended, of humility, be bound always to obey the commander in every matter pertaining to the organization of the society, and shall recognize Christ as present in him, and shall do him reverence as far as is seemly. . . .

Implicit obedience to the head of the society.

Whereas, moreover, we have found that the happier, purer, and more edifying life is that removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice and modeled as nearly as may be upon evangelical poverty, and whereas we know that our Lord Jesus Christ will furnish the necessities of food and clothing to his servants who seek only the kingdom of God, therefore each and every member shall vow perpetual poverty, declaring that neither individually, nor even in common for the support or use of the society, will he acquire any civil right over any permanent property, rents, or incomes whatever, but that he will be content with the use only of such articles as shall be given him to meet his necessities. They may, however, maintain in universities a college or colleges with means or possessions to be applied

Vow of perpetual poverty.

to the needs and exigencies of the students; all control or supervision of any sort over the said colleges and students being vested in the commander and the society. . . .

The foregoing is what, by the permission of our said Lord Paul and of the apostolic see, we have been allowed to set forth as a general ideal for our profession. We have taken this step at this time in order that by this brief document we might inform the persons who are inquiring now about our way of life, and also posterity, — if, by God's will, there shall be those to follow us in the path upon which (attended though it be by many grave difficulties) we have entered. We have further judged it expedient to prescribe that no one shall be received into this society until he has been long and thoroughly tried; but when he has proved himself wise in Christ as well as in doctrine, and exalted in the purity of the Christian life, then at length he shall be admitted into the army of Jesus Christ. May he deign to prosper our feeble undertaking to the glory of God the Father, to whom alone be ever praise and honor throughout the ages. Amen.

The pope's sanction of the rule of the Jesuits.

Whereas nothing may be discovered in the foregoing which is not pious or devout, in order that these associates who have made their humble application to us may be the better forwarded in their religious plan of life for feeling themselves included in the grace of the apostolic see and finding their projects meeting our approval, we do, through apostolic authority, approve, confirm, bless, and fortify with a bulwark of everlasting power the whole and every part of the aforesaid organization, and we take these associates under the protection of ourselves and this holy apostolic see; . . . We will also that persons who desire to profess the rules of life of this society be admitted into it and counted with the said society up to the number of sixty and no more. To no man whatsoever be it permitted to infringe or violate this statement of our approbation, benediction, and justification. If any one shall presume to attempt it, let him be assured that he incurs the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed Peter and Paul, his apostles.

Number of members restricted to sixty.

Given at St. Mark's in Rome, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1540, September 27, in the sixth year of our pontificate.

III. The Abdication of Charles V (1555)

279. Charles V's address at Brussels (1555).

Although [my councilor] Philibert has just fully explained to you, my friends, the causes which have determined me to surrender the possession and administration of these Belgian provinces and leave them to my son, Don Philip, yet I wish to say certain things with my own mouth. You will remember that upon the 5th of January of this year there had elapsed forty years since my grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, in the same place and at the same hour, declared my majority at the age of fifteen, withdrew me from the guardianship under which I had remained up to that time, and made me master of myself.

The following year, which was my sixteenth, King Ferdinand (my mother's father and my grandfather) died in the kingdom over which I was then forced to begin to reign, owing to the fact that my beloved mother, who has but just died, was left, by reason of the death of my father, with disordered judgment, and never sufficiently recovered her health to be capable of ruling over the possessions which she inherited from her father and mother.

At that time I went to Spain by way of the sea. Soon came the death of my grandfather Maximilian, in my nineteenth year, and although I was still young I sought and obtained the imperial dignity in his stead. I had no inordinate ambition to rule a multitude of kingdoms, but merely desired to secure the welfare and prosperity of Germany, my dear fatherland, and of my other kingdoms, especially of my Belgian provinces; and to encourage and extend as far as in me lay Christian peace and harmony throughout the whole world.

But although such zeal was mine, I was unable to show so much of it as I might have wished, on account of the troubles raised by the heresies of Luther and the other innovators

of Germany, and on account of serious war into which the hostility and envy of neighboring princes had driven me, but from which I have safely emerged, thanks to the favor of God. . . .

This is the fourth time that I am setting out for Spain. I wish to say to you that nothing I have ever experienced has given me so much pain or rested so heavily upon my soul as that which I experience in parting from you to-day, without leaving behind me that peace and quiet which I so much desired. My sister Mary, who in my absence has governed you so wisely and defended you so well, has explained to you in the last assembly the reasons for my determination.

The emperor's bad health.

I am no longer able to attend to my affairs without great bodily fatigue and consequent detriment to the interests of the state. The cares which so great a responsibility involves, the extreme dejection which it causes, my health already ruined, — all these leave me no longer the vigor sufficient for governing the states which God has confided to me. The little strength that remains to me is rapidly disappearing. I should long ago have laid down the burden if my son's immaturity and my mother's incapacity had not forced both my spirit and my body to sustain its weight until this hour.

The last time that I went to Germany I had determined to do what you see me do to-day; but I could not bring myself to do it when I saw the wretched condition of the Christian state, a prey to such a multitude of disturbances, of innovations, of singular opinions as to faith, of worse than civil wars, and fallen finally into so many lamentable disorders. I was turned from my purpose because my own ills were not yet so great, and I hoped to make an end of all these things and restore peace. In order that I might not be wanting in my duty, I risked my strength, my goods, my repose, and my life for the safety of Christianity and the defense of my subjects.

From this struggle I emerged with a portion of the things I desired. But the king of France and certain Germans,

failing to preserve the peace and amity they had sworn, marched against me. The Germans were upon the point of seizing my person. The king of France took the city of Metz, and I, in the dead of winter, exposed to intense cold, in the midst of snow and blood, advanced with a powerful army raised at my own expense to retake the city and restore the empire. The Germans saw that I had not yet laid aside the imperial crown, and that I had no disposition to allow its majesty to be diminished. . . .

I have carried out what God has permitted, — for the outcome of our efforts depends upon the will of God. We human beings act according to our powers, our strength, our spirit, and God awards the victory or permits defeat. I have ever done what I could, and God has aided me. I — and you, too — should return to him boundless thanks for his aid, for having succored me in my greatest trials and in all my dangers.

To-day I feel so exhausted that I could not help you, as you see yourselves. In my present state of dejection and weakness, I should have to render a serious account to God and man if I did not lay aside authority, as I have resolved to do, since my son, King Philip, is of an age sufficiently advanced to be able to govern you; and he will be, I hope, a good prince to all my beloved subjects.

I am determined then to retire to Spain and to yield to my son Philip the possession of all my Belgian provinces. I particularly commend my son to you, and I ask of you, in remembrance of me, that you extend to him the love which you have always borne towards me; moreover I ask you to preserve among yourselves the same affection and harmony. Be just and zealous in the observance of the laws, preserve respect for all that merits respect, and do not refuse to grant to authority the support of which it stands in need.

Above all, beware of infection from the sects of neighboring lands. Extirpate at once the germs of heresy, should they appear in your midst, for fear lest they may spread abroad and utterly ruin your state, and lest you fall into the direst calamities.

IV. Philip II of Spain

We have several descriptions of Philip II, the most important and impartial of which are those of the Venetian ambassadors. The king's affability, industry, religion, and frail constitution are mentioned by all. In his earlier years, however, he exhibited a Castilian haughtiness which he successfully overcame later.

280. An estimate of Philip II by Suriano, a Venetian ambassador (1159).

The Catholic king was born in Spain, in the month of May, 1527, and spent a great part of his youth in that kingdom. Here, in accordance with the customs of the country and the wishes of his father and mother, — who belonged to the house of Portugal, — he was treated with all the deference and respect which seemed due to the son of the greatest emperor whom Christendom had ever had, and to the heir to such a number of realms and to such grandeur. As a result of this education, when the king left Spain for the first time and visited Flanders, passing on his way through Italy and Germany, he everywhere made an impression of haughtiness and severity, so that the Italians liked him but little, the Flemings were quite disgusted with him, and the Germans hated him heartily. But when he had been warned by the cardinal of Trent and Queen Mary [of Hungary, his aunt], and above all by his father, that this haughtiness was not in place in a prince destined to rule over a number of nations so different in manners and sentiment, he altered his manner so completely that on his second journey, when he went to England, he everywhere exhibited such distinguished mildness and affability that no prince has ever surpassed him in these traits.[1] Although his actions display that royal dignity and gravity which are natural and habitual to him, he is none the less agreeable for this; on the contrary, his courtesy toward all seems only the more striking. His pleasing figure, his manly air, and his suavity of speech

[1] For another estimate of Philip see above, p. 150.

and manner serve to enhance the pleasing effect. He is slight in stature, but so well built, so admirably proportioned, and dressed with such taste and discernment that one could hardly imagine anything more perfect. . . .

Contrast between Charles V and Philip II

Although the king resembles his father in his face and speech, in his attention to his religious duties, and in his habitual kindness and good faith, he nevertheless differs from him in several of those respects in which the greatness of rulers, after all, lies. The emperor was addicted to war, which he well understood; the king knows but little of it and has no love for it. The emperor undertook great enterprises with enthusiasm; his son avoids them. The father was fond of planning great things and would in the end realize his wishes by his skill; his son, on the contrary, pays less attention to augmenting his own greatness than to hindering that of others. The emperor never allowed himself to be influenced by threats or fear, while the king has lost some of his dominions owing to unreasonable apprehensions. The father was guided in all matters by his own opinion; the son follows the opinions of others.

Philip's partiality for Spain.

In the king's eyes no nation is superior to the Spaniards. It is among them that he lives, it is they that he consults, and it is they that direct his policy; in all this he is acting quite contrary to the habit of his father. He thinks little of the Italians and Flemish and still less of the Germans. Although he may employ the chief men of all the countries over which he rules, he admits none of them to his secret counsels, but utilizes their services only in military affairs, and then perhaps not so much because he really esteems them, as in the hope that he will in this way prevent his enemies from making use of them.

In the letters which Philip II took great pains to write regularly to his young daughters during a trying campaign in Portugal, we discover no signs of a grim despot bent on compassing the death of thousands of his subjects, but rather of a kindly father who had an

ear for the nightingale's song and an eye for the early flowers, and who carefully observed when one of his babies cut a tooth.

LISBON, January 15, 1582.

281. A letter of Philip II to his daughters.

It is good news for me to learn that you are so well. It seems to me that your little sister is getting her eye teeth pretty early. Perhaps they are in place of the two which I am on the point of losing and which I shall probably no longer have when I get back. But if I had nothing worse to trouble me, that might pass. . . .

We are having terrible weather here; torrents of rain fall, sometimes with fearful claps of thunder and flashes of lightning. I have never seen such weather at this season. It would be a good thing for you, my elder daughter, if you are still afraid of thunder. It is not cold, but it rains continuously, and just now with such violence that you would say that the whole sky was turning into water. There have been some terrible storms, but there were not so many ships lost as Luis Tristan [a servant] wrote to you; indeed, I hardly think any were lost, — nothing except a few little boats. The last courier who had a letter from me for you has probably been delayed, for the Tagus was raging so that he could not leave Tuesday morning as usual, but started Wednesday, so that I doubt if he will arrive before the regular post leaves you.

I am inclined to think that Madeleine[1] is no longer so out of patience with me; but she has been ill for some time. She took some physic, and since has been in a very bad humor. She came here yesterday. She is in a sad state, feeble, old, deaf, — in short, half dead. I believe that all this comes from her drinking, and this is the reason that she is so glad not to have her son-in-law with her. Yesterday she told me that she no longer had any grudge against the person called Mariola about whom she wrote to you, whose real name is Maria Fernandez. I believe her, for I

[1] An old servant to whom the king frequently refers in the letters to his daughters.

think that she really likes to hear Mariola sing; and she is right, for she sings very well, only she is so fat and big that she can scarcely get through the door.

I am ready to believe that Lady Anna de Mendoza takes as good care of your little brothers as you, my eldest daughter, say that she does.

The other day some one gave me what I have inclosed in this box and said that it was a sweet lime. I think, just the same, that it is only a lemon, but nevertheless wanted to send it to you. If it is really a sweet lime, I have never seen one so big. I do not know if it will still be good when it gets to you. If it is, taste it and let me know what it proves to be, for I cannot believe that a lime ever was so big, and consequently shall be pleased to be enlightened by you. The little lemon which is in the box with it is only to fill up the space.

I am sending you also some roses and an orange flower, just to let you see that we have them here. Calabrés brings me bunches of both these flowers every day, and we have had violets for a long time. There are no jonquils here; if there were, they ought to have blossomed by this time, since we have these other flowers. After this rainy time I imagine that you will be having flowers, too, by the time my sister arrives, or soon after. God keep you as I would have him!

V. The Revolt of the Netherlands

282. A Venetian ambassador's description of the Netherlands in 1557. (Extracts, condensed.)

The Netherlands comprise thirteen provinces, to wit, three lordships, four duchies, and six counties. The atmosphere is heavy and the sky almost always overcast. Owing to the frequent changes in the wind, one has warm weather and cold several times in the same day. Flanders abounds in various commodities, but produces no wine. Artois raises more grain than all the rest of the country together. Holland enjoys an income of eight hundred thousand crowns yearly from its butter and cheese. The number of towns, large, medium, and small, amount to some hundred and

forty. The largest have from six thousand to twenty-five thousand families. The population of the whole country is estimated at three millions.

The houses are not conveniently disposed and the architecture is not fine. They are for the most part of wood and earth, but the public buildings constructed of stone make a fine appearance. The churches and the open places are remarkable. The streets are wide and adorned with numerous superb fountains, but they are badly paved and might be cleaner.

Flemish industries.

These provinces swarm with men who practice all the useful arts. The greater number of them are weavers. In Holland alone eight hundred thousand crowns' worth of linens are produced. The manufacture of wall hangings, which goes on in several regions, amounts to nearly as much, and the export of cloths of all kinds is much more considerable still.

Flemish art.

The people of the Netherlands excel all other nations in their painting of landscapes and animals. They seem born for music, and produce composers of eminence.

Prevalence of heresy.

As for attendance upon divine service, nowhere does one find more devotion. Almsgiving and processions take place almost every Sunday in their churches. Nevertheless there are many Lutherans and Anabaptists among them. Gelderland is completely infected with them. There are many in Brabant and especially in Antwerp, but they are more numerous still in Holland and Artois. They are condemned to be burned for this heresy, but they may escape this penalty by retracting, when they lose their heads instead. It is a notable thing that, although the cold climate makes the inhabitants timorous, when condemned to death they face their fate with rare courage.

Of the various proclamations — "placards," as they were popularly called — against heretics issued by Charles V and confirmed by Philip II, the following extracts from that which appeared in April, 1550, will give a good and sufficient idea.

283. "Placard," or denunciation of heretics, issued by Charles V (1550).

No one, whatsoever his rank or condition, shall print, transcribe, copy, or knowingly have by him, receive, carry, keep, conceal, have in his possession, sell, buy, give, distribute, scatter, or let fall in churches, or on the street, or in other places, any books or writings composed by Martin Luther, John Œcolampadius, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, or other heretics or promoters of their sects, or of other bad and false sects condemned by the holy Church. . . .

No one shall represent, or cause to be represented, sell, or offer for sale, have, keep, or possess, any scandalous figures, pictures, or images of the Virgin Mary, or of the saints canonized by the Church, or of the clergy. Nor shall any one break, destroy, or pull down the images or pictures made in their honor.

No one shall, in his house or elsewhere, hold, or suffer to be held, any secret conventicles or improper assemblies, nor attend such, in which the said heretics and seducers sow and privily inculcate their errors, rebaptizing and conspiring against the holy Church and the government.

Moreover we forbid every one, laymen and others, to discuss or argue about the Holy Scriptures, whether in secret or in public, especially touching important and doubtful matters; or to read aloud or teach to others the Holy Scriptures, unless they be theologians versed in theology and approved by some well-known university. . . .

Punishment for heretics.

The penalty in case any one shall be discovered to have violated any of the provisions herein stated shall be punishment fitting for seditious persons who are a peril to our realm and the common weal, and as such they shall be executed, the men by the sword, the women by being buried alive, should they show no disposition to maintain or defend their errors. Should they, however, persist in their opinions, errors, and heresies, they shall be burned alive, and in every case their goods shall be confiscated and declared forfeit to us. . . .

All those who know of any one infected with heresy shall be held to denounce, report, name, and bring him to the

attention of the inquisitor or officers of the bishops. . . . Likewise all shall be required, if they know of any place where any heretic is concealed, to report the same to the officer of the place on pain of being regarded as an aider, abettor, and adherent of heresy and of receiving the same punishment as the heretic or delinquent, should he be captured.

In 1580 Philip II decided to declare William the Silent an outlaw and put a price upon his head. In so doing he gives an interesting account of the troubles in the Netherlands from a Spanish standpoint.

284. Proclamation outlawing William the Silent (1580) (Condensed.)

Philip, by the grace of God king of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Navarre, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Indies and terra firma, *the Atlantic Ocean; duke of Burgundy, Lorraine, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Gelderland, Milan; count of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, etc.; to all to whom these presents may come, greeting:*

It is well known to all how favorably the late emperor, Charles the Fifth, of exalted memory, our father, treated William of Nassau in the matter of the succession to his cousin, the prince of Orange, and how, from William's earliest youth, he promoted his advancement, as we, since the emperor's death, have continued to do, by appointing him lieutenant general of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, summoning him to our council of state, and heaping upon him honors and emoluments. By reason of this and the oaths of fidelity and homage taken to us for fiefs and lands held of us in various of our countries and provinces, he was specially bound to us, and under obligation to obey and keep faith with us and safeguard our interests and to do all in his power to secure peace and tranquillity in our several dominions and provinces.

Nevertheless, as every one knows, we had scarcely turned our back on the Netherlands before the said William of Nassau (who had become, in the manner mentioned above, prince of Orange) began to endeavor, by sinister arts, plots, and

intrigues, first to gain over those whom he believed to be malcontents, or haters of justice, or anxious for innovations, and then, above all, those who were suspected in the matter of religion. These he flattered and attracted by fine words and vain promises. He was the instigator and chief author of the first protest which was presented by certain young gentlemen who daily frequented his house and table.

Moreover, with the knowledge, advice, and encouragement of the said Orange, the heretics commenced to destroy the images, altars, and churches in a disorderly manner, and to desecrate all holy and sacred objects, especially the sacraments ordained of God. Yet, by divine grace and the foresight of the duchess of Parma, our very dear sister, matters were remedied, and he was forced to retire from our dominions, breathing out threats of vengeance in his rage. These he hoped to carry out the following year by arms, but he was closely pursued by our army and driven from our said lands, where he could get no foothold.

Philip throws the responsibility for unpopular taxes on Alva.

But when a little later some discontent arose among our subjects in regard to the government of the duke of Alva (who had succeeded the said lady), especially in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, Orange managed to return. Nevertheless he was only received on condition that he would take a solemn oath to the estates of the said provinces and towns, pledging himself to guard the said provinces and towns for us, and in our obedience, and to change nothing in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion. He was, as governor, only to assist them against the duke of Alva should he attempt to coerce and oppress them, as Orange alleged that he proposed to do, — namely, in the matter of the tenth and twentieth penny which the duke wished to collect. Now we had not ordered him to levy this tax, and did not wish to have it levied except with the good will and consent of our good subjects and in place of other impositions from which it was proposed to free them.

Nevertheless, so soon as the said Nassau was received into the said government of the provinces, he began, through his agents and satellites, to introduce heretical preaching

where he found it possible, persecuting all the good pastors, preachers, monks, and upright persons, and hunting many of them from the region. Then he had a number massacred; or rather, he tried to avoid the responsibility for a massacre carried on by some of his adherents, until the estates, greatly incensed by this cruelty, demanded an account of the affair, when he pretended that it was displeasing to him. Then he introduced liberty of conscience, or to speak more correctly, confusion of all religion, which soon brought it about that the Catholics were openly persecuted and driven out, and the churches and monasteries, whether of men or women, broken up, ruined, and leveled with the ground.

Although a married man, and although his second wife was still alive, he took to himself a nun, an abbess who had been solemnly sanctified by episcopal authority, and her he still keeps; a most disreputable and infamous thing, not only according to the Christian religion, but the Roman law as well.

Moreover he obtained such a hold upon our poor subjects of Holland and Zealand and brought affairs to such a pass that nearly all the towns, one after the other, have been besieged and taken, either by assault or by capitulation, so that more than once he was on the point of being brought to bay by our arms, when the commander who succeeded the duke of Alva (whom we had recalled to please our subjects) died. Then the said Nassau induced the estates to demand the withdrawal of all the foreign troops in hope of peace, but Nassau continued his machinations and displayed all his craft in plunging our people into war with our brother, whom we had appointed lieutenant general. . . .

Reward offered for the arrest or assassination of William the Silent.

Therefore, for all these just reasons, for his evil doings as chief disturber of the public peace and as a public pest, we outlaw him forever and forbid all our subjects to associate with him or communicate with him in public or in secret. We declare him an enemy of the human race, and in order the sooner to remove our people from his tyranny and oppression, we promise, on the word of a king and as

God's servant, that if one of our subjects be found so generous of heart and so desirous of doing us a service and advantaging the public that he shall find means of executing this decree and of ridding us of the said pest, either by delivering him to us dead or alive, or by depriving him at once of life, we will give him and his heirs landed estates or money, as he will, to the amount of twenty-five thousand gold crowns. If he has committed any crime, of any kind whatsoever, we will pardon him. If he be not noble, we will ennoble him for his valor; and should he require other persons to assist him, we will reward them according to the service rendered, pardon their crimes, and ennoble them too.

In answer to the charges brought against him the prince of Orange published his famous "Apology." This contains a good account of his life and a brief history of the revolt of the Netherlands, in which he played so important a part. A few passages only can be given here.

285. Extracts from the "Apology" of William the Silent to the estates (1581).

. . . . What could be more gratifying in this world, especially to one engaged in the great and excellent task of securing liberty for a good people oppressed by evil men, than to be mortally hated by one's enemies, who are at the same time enemies of the fatherland, and by their mouths to receive a sweet testimony to one's fidelity to his people and to his obstinate opposition to tyrants and disturbers of the peace? Such is the pleasure that the Spaniards and their adherents have prepared for me in their anxiety to disturb me. They have but gratified me by that infamous proscription by which they sought to ruin me. Not only do I owe to them this favor, but also the occasion to make generally known the equity and justice of my enterprises. . . .

[If in reviewing my life I am forced to praise myself and blame others] kindly attribute this, gentlemen, to the situation in which my enemies have placed me, and throw the blame upon their impudence and importunity. Remember, gentlemen, that I am falsely accused of being an ingrate,

infidel, heretic, and hypocrite, a new Judas and Cain, a disturber of the peace, a rebel, foreigner, enemy of the human race, a public pest of the Christian commonwealth, a traitor and scoundrel; that I am exposed to be killed like a beast, with a reward for any assassin or poisoner who will undertake the job. It is for you to judge, gentlemen, whether, in order to purge myself from the calumnies heaped upon me, I may not be excused for departing from my usual habits in speaking of myself and others. . . .

My enemies object that I have "established liberty of conscience." I confess that the glow of fires in which so many poor Christians have been tormented is not an agreeable sight to me, although it may rejoice the eyes of the duke of Alva and the Spaniards; and that it has been my opinion that persecutions should cease in the Netherlands. I will confess, too, in order that my enemies may know that they have to do with one who speaks out roundly and without circumlocution, that when the king was leaving Zealand he commanded me to put to death several worthy persons suspected on account of their religion. I did not wish to do this, and I could not with a clear conscience, so I warned them myself, since one must obey God rather than men. Let the Spaniards say what they please, I know several nations and peoples who are quite their equals who will approve and praise my conduct, for they have learned that nothing is to be accomplished by fire and sword. . . .

They denounce me as a hypocrite, which is absurd enough, since I have never resorted to dissimulation. As their friend, I told them quite frankly that they were twisting a rope to hang themselves when they began the barbarous policy of persecution. If their unbounded passion and their contempt for me had not prevented their following my advice, they would never have come out where they did. When later I became their opponent and enemy in the interest of your freedom, I do not see what hypocrisy they could discover in me, unless they call it hypocrisy to wage open war, take cities, chase them out of the country, and inflict upon them, without disguise, all the harm that the law of

war permits. But, gentlemen, if you will reread my "Justification," published thirteen years ago, you will find there the letters of a deceitful and hypocritical king, who thought to deceive me by his false and honeyed words, just as now he would stun me by his threats and the thunder of his denunciations. . . .

As for me personally, you see, gentlemen, that it is my head that they are looking for, and that they have vowed my death by offering such a great sum of money. They say that the war can never come to an end so long as I am among you. Might it please God that my perpetual exile, or even my death, should bring you a true deliverance from all the evils and calamities which the Spaniards are preparing for you and which I have so often seen them considering in council and devising in detail! How agreeable to me would be such a banishment! how sweet death itself! . . . Why have I so often endangered my life, what reward shall I expect for my long labors for you, which have extended into old age, and for the loss of my goods, if it be not to obtain and purchase your liberty, even at the cost of my blood if necessary?

If, then, gentlemen, you believe that my exile, or even my death, may serve you, I am ready to obey your behests. Here is my head, over which no prince or monarch has authority save you. Dispose of it as you will for the safety and preservation of our commonwealth. But if you judge that such little experience and energy as I have acquired through long and assiduous labors, if you judge that the remainder of my possessions and of my life can be of service to you, I dedicate them to you and to the fatherland.

VI. The Wars of Religion in France

The statesman and fair-minded historian, De Thou (1553–1617), who as a young man witnessed the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, thus describes that terrible event.

286. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the murder of Coligny, as described by De Thou.

(This paragraph is much condensed.)

So it was determined to exterminate all the Protestants, and the plan was approved by the queen. They discussed for some time whether they should make an exception of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. All agreed that the king of Navarre should be spared by reason of the royal dignity and the new alliance. The duke of Guise, who was put in full command of the enterprise, summoned by night several captains of the Catholic Swiss mercenaries from the five little cantons, and some commanders of French companies, and told them that it was the will of the king that, according to God's will, they should take vengeance on the band of rebels while they had the beasts in the toils. Victory was easy and the booty great and to be obtained without danger. The signal to commence the massacre should be given by the bell of the palace, and the marks by which they should recognize each other in the darkness were a bit of white linen tied around the left arm and a white cross on the hat.

Meanwhile Coligny awoke and recognized from the noise that a riot was taking place. Nevertheless he remained assured of the king's good will, being persuaded thereof either by his credulity or by Teligny, his son-in-law: he believed the populace had been stirred up by the Guises, and that quiet would be restored as soon as it was seen that soldiers of the guard, under the command of Cosseins, had been detailed to protect him and guard his property.

But when he perceived that the noise increased and that some one had fired an arquebus in the courtyard of his dwelling, then at length, conjecturing what it might be, but too late, he arose from his bed and having put on his dressing gown he said his prayers, leaning against the wall. Labonne held the key of the house, and when Cosseins commanded him, in the king's name, to open the door he obeyed at once without fear and apprehending nothing. But scarcely had Cosseins entered when Labonne, who stood in his way, was killed with a dagger thrust. The Swiss who were in the courtyard, when they saw this, fled into the house and closed the door, piling against it tables

and all the furniture they could find. It was in the first scrimmage that a Swiss was killed with a ball from an arquebus fired by one of Cosseins' people. But finally the conspirators broke through the door and mounted the stairway, Cosseins, Attin, Corberan de Cordillac, Seigneur de Sarlabous, first captains of the regiment of the guards, Achilles Petrucci of Siena, all armed with cuirasses, and Besme the German, who had been brought up as a page in the house of Guise; for the duke of Guise was lodged at court, together with the great nobles and others who accompanied him.

After Coligny had said his prayers with Merlin the minister, he said, without any appearance of alarm, to those who were present (and almost all were surgeons, for few of them were of his retinue): "I see clearly that which they seek, and I am ready steadfastly to suffer that death which I have never feared and which for a long time past I have pictured to myself. I consider myself happy in feeling the approach of death and in being ready to die in God, by whose grace I hope for the life everlasting. I have no further need of human succor. Go then from this place, my friends, as quickly as you may, for fear lest you shall be involved in my misfortune, and that some day your wives shall curse me as the author of your loss. For me it is enough that God is here, to whose goodness I commend my soul, which is so soon to issue from my body." After these words they ascended to an upper room, whence they sought safety in flight here and there over the roofs.

Meanwhile the conspirators, having burst through the door of the chamber, entered, and when Besme, sword in hand, had demanded of Coligny, who stood near the door, "Are you Coligny?" Coligny replied, "Yes, I am he," with fearless countenance. "But you, young man, respect these white hairs. What is it you would do? You cannot shorten by many days this life of mine." As he spoke, Besme gave him a sword thrust through the body, and having withdrawn his sword, another thrust in the mouth, by which his face was disfigured. So Coligny fell, killed with many thrusts.

Others have written that Coligny in dying pronounced as though in anger these words: "Would that I might at least die at the hands of a soldier and not of a valet." But Attin, one of the murderers, has reported as I have written, and added that he never saw any one less afraid in so great a peril, nor die more steadfastly.

Then the duke of Guise inquired of Besme from the courtyard if the thing were done, and when Besme answered him that it was, the duke replied that the Chevalier d'Angoulême was unable to believe it unless he saw it; and at the same time that he made the inquiry they threw the body through the window into the courtyard, disfigured as it was with blood. When the Chevalier d'Angoulême, who could scarcely believe his eyes, had wiped away with a cloth the blood which overran the face and finally had recognized him, some say that he spurned the body with his foot. However this may be, when he left the house with his followers he said: "Cheer up, my friends! Let us do thoroughly that which we have begun. The king commands it." He frequently repeated these words, and as soon as they had caused the bell of the palace clock to ring, on every side arose the cry, "To arms!" and the people ran to the house of Coligny. After his body had been treated to all sorts of insults, they threw it into a neighboring stable, and finally cut off his head, which they sent to Rome. They also shamefully mutilated him, and dragged his body through the streets to the bank of the Seine, a thing which he had formerly almost prophesied, although he did not think of anything like this.

As some children were in the act of throwing the body into the river, it was dragged out and placed upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, where it hung by the feet in chains of iron; and then they built a fire beneath, by which he was burned without being consumed; so that he was, so to speak, tortured with all the elements, since he was killed upon the earth, thrown into the water, placed upon the fire, and finally put to hang in the air. After he had served for several days as a spectacle to gratify the hate of many and

arouse the just indignation of many others, who reckoned that this fury of the people would cost the king and France many a sorrowful day, François de Montmorency, who was nearly related to the dead man, and still more his friend, and who moreover had escaped the danger in time, had him taken by night from the gibbet by trusty men and carried to Chantilly, where he was buried in the chapel.

287. Extracts from the Edict of Nantes (1598).

The edict of Henry IV "for the pacification of the troubles in his realms," commonly called the Edict of Nantes, is dated from that town, April, 1598. It is very voluminous, containing as it does ninety-two articles in the main body of the edict, and fifty-six additional articles, designed to reassure the Huguenots. A few only of its more important provisions are given below.

Henry, by the grace of God king of France and of Navarre, to all to whom these presents come, greeting:

Among the infinite benefits which it has pleased God to heap upon us, the most signal and precious is his granting us the strength and ability to withstand the fearful disorders and troubles which prevailed on our advent in this kingdom. The realm was so torn by innumerable factions and sects that the most legitimate of all the parties was fewest in numbers. God has given us strength to stand out against this storm; we have finally surmounted the waves and made our port of safety, — peace for our state. For which his be the glory all in all, and ours a free recognition of his grace in making use of our instrumentality in the good work. . . . We implore and await from the Divine Goodness the same protection and favor which he has ever granted to this kingdom from the beginning. . . .

We have, by this perpetual and irrevocable edict, established and proclaimed and do establish and proclaim:

General amnesty.

I. First, that the recollection of everything done by one party or the other between March, 1585, and our accession to the crown, and during all the preceding period of

troubles, remain obliterated and forgotten, as if no such things had ever happened.

The Catholic worship to be everywhere restored.

III. We ordain that the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion shall be restored and reëstablished in all places and localities of this our kingdom and countries subject to our sway, where the exercise of the same has been interrupted, in order that it may be peaceably and freely exercised, without any trouble or hindrance; forbidding very expressly all persons, of whatsoever estate, quality, or condition, from troubling, molesting, or disturbing ecclesiastics in the celebration of divine service, in the enjoyment or collection of tithes, fruits, or revenues of their benefices, and all other rights and dues belonging to them; and that all those who during the troubles have taken possession of churches, houses, goods or revenues, belonging to the said ecclesiastics, shall surrender to them entire possession and peaceable enjoyment of such rights, liberties, and sureties as they had before they were deprived of them.

Huguenots not to be annoyed.

VI. And in order to leave no occasion for troubles or differences between our subjects, we have permitted, and herewith permit, those of the said religion called Reformed [1] to live and abide in all the cities and places of this our kingdom and countries of our sway, without being annoyed, molested, or compelled to do anything in the matter of religion contrary to their consciences, . . . upon condition that they comport themselves in other respects according to that which is contained in this our present edict.

Extent to which Protestant services are to be tolerated.

VII. It is permitted to all lords, gentlemen, and other persons making profession of the said religion called Reformed, holding the right of high justice [or a certain feudal tenure], to exercise the said religion in their houses.

[1] This official designation for Protestantism in France — namely, "the religion called the Reformed" (*Religion prétendue réformée*) — was in no way insulting to the Huguenots, as some Protestant writers have supposed. *Prétendre* commonly means "claim" or "allege" rather than "pretend." Henry IV, as king of a Catholic country, could go no farther in referring to the Huguenots than to call them the religious party which followed what they alleged or claimed to be a reformed Christianity.

IX. We also permit those of the said religion to make and continue the exercise of the same in all villages and places of our dominion where it was established by them and publicly enjoyed several and divers times in the year 1597, up to the end of the month of August, notwithstanding all decrees and judgments to the contrary.

XIII. We very expressly forbid to all those of the said religion its exercise, either in respect to ministry, regulation, discipline, or the public instruction of children, or otherwise, in this our kingdom and lands of our dominion, otherwise than in the places permitted and granted by the present edict.

No Protestant services to be held in Paris.

XIV. It is forbidden as well to perform any function of the said religion in our court or retinue, or in our lands and territories beyond the mountains, or in our city of Paris, or within five leagues of the said city.

XVIII. We also forbid all our subjects, of whatever quality and condition, from carrying off by force or persuasion, against the will of their parents, the children of the said religion, in order to cause them to be baptized or confirmed in the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church; and the same is forbidden to those of the said religion called Reformed, upon penalty of being punished with especial severity.

Restrictions on Protestant books.

XXI. Books concerning the said religion called Reformed may not be printed and publicly sold, except in cities and places where the public exercise of the said religion is permitted.

XXII. We ordain that there shall be no difference or distinction made in respect to the said religion, in receiving pupils to be instructed in universities, colleges, and schools; nor in receiving the sick and poor into hospitals, retreats, and public charities.

XXIII. Those of the said religion called Reformed shall be obliged to respect the laws of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, recognized in this our kingdom, for the consummation of marriages contracted, or to be contracted, as regards the degrees of consanguinity and kinship.

VII. Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth

James Melville, a trusted ambassador of Mary Queen of Scots, tells in his *Memoirs* of an interview with Queen Elizabeth in 1564, when she was thirty-one years of age.

288. Melville's impressions of Elizabeth in 1564.

During nine days that I remained at the court it pleased her Majesty to confer with me every day and sometimes thrice in a day, — in the morning, after dinner, and after supper. Sometimes she would say that, seeing she could not meet with the queen [i.e. Mary], her good sister, to confer with her familiarly, she was resolved to open a good part of her inward mind to me, that I might show it again to the queen. . . . [She said,] "I am resolved never to marry if I be not thereto necessitated by the queen, my sister's, harsh behavior toward me." "I know the truth of that, madam," said I; "you need not tell me. Your Majesty thinks if you were married you would be but queen of England; and now you are both king and queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a commander."

She appeared to be so affectionate to the queen, her good sister, that she expressed a great desire to see her; and because their (so much by her desired) meeting could not be so hastily brought to pass she appeared with great delight to look upon her Majesty's picture. . . .

The queen, my mistress, had instructed me to leave matters of gravity sometimes and cast in merry purposes, lest otherwise I should be wearied, she being well informed of that queen's natural temper. Therefore, in declaring my observations of the customs of Dutchland, Poland, and Italy, the buskins of the women was not forgot, and what country weed [i.e. costume] I thought best becoming gentlewomen. The queen said she had clothes of every sort; which every day thereafter, so long as I was there, she changed. One day she had the English weed, another the French, another the Italian, and so forth. She asked me which of them became her best. I answered, in my

judgement, the Italian dress; which answer I found pleased her well, for she delighted to show her golden-colored hair, wearing a caul and bonnet as they do in Italy.

Her hair was more reddish than yellow, curled in appearance naturally. She desired to know of me what color of hair was reputed best, and whether my queen's hair or hers was best, and which of them two was fairest. I answered that the fairness of them both was not their worst faults. But she was earnest with me to declare which of them I judged fairest. I said she was the fairest queen in England and mine the fairest queen in Scotland. Yet she appeared earnest. I answered they were both the fairest ladies in their countries; that her Majesty was whiter, but my queen was very lovesome.

She inquired which of them was of highest stature. I said my queen. "Then," saith she, "she is too high; for I myself am neither too high nor too low." Then she asked what kind of exercises she used. I answered that when I received my dispatch the queen was but lately come from the highland hunting; that when her more serious affairs permitted she was taken up with reading of histories; that she sometimes recreated herself in playing upon the lute and virginals. She asked if she played well. I said, reasonably, for a queen.

289. The bishop of London on the dangers suggested by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572).

The news of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew filled England with horror and apprehension. The bishop of London writes to Lord Burleigh, Elizabeth's chief adviser, as follows:

Theese evill tymes trouble all good mens headdes, and make their heartes ake, fearinge that this barbarous treacherie will not ceasse in Fraunce, but will reach over unto us. Neither feare we the mangling of our body, but we sore dreade the hurt of our Head [i.e. the Queen]: for therin consisteth our lief and saftie. We shall dutiefullie praie. Give you good advise. And God, I trust, will deliver us owt of the mouthe of the waringe Lyon. . . .

Sundrie have required a publique Faste and Praier to be had, for the confoundinge of theese and other cruell enemies of Goddes gospell, but this I will not consent unto withowt warraunt from hir Majestie. Thus am I bolde to unfolde a peece of my mynde on the sudden, and to make yow pertaker of my simple cogitacions, knowinge that accordinge to yowr olde wonte, you will take the same in good parte. Hasten hir Majestie homewarde, hir safe returne to London will comforth many heartes oppressed with feare. God preserve yow, and directe yow with his spirite to counsell to his glorie. In haste from my howse at Fulham this vth. of September, 1572.

Yor. L. humble at commandment,

Ed. London.

The saftie of our Quene and Realme yf God will.

The advice of the bishop in regard to the treatment of Mary Stuart and the Catholics.

1. Furthwith to cutte of the Scottish Queen's heade[1]:

2. To remove from our Quene Papistes, and suche as by private persuasion overthrowe good counsell.

3. The Q. majestie to be garded stronglie with Protestants, and others to be removed.

4. Order must be taken for the safe kepinge of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London for strengtheninge of the Citie, and that they receave no Papaist of strengthe to sojourne there this wynter.

5. A firme League to be made with the yonge Scottishe Kinge and the Protestants there.

6. A League to be made with the Princes Protestant of Germanie, offensive and defensive.

7. The chiefe Papists of this realme are to be shutte uppe in the Tower, and the popishe olde Bishoppes to be returned thither.

[1] The official account of the beheading of Queen Mary, which did not take place for nearly fifteen years after this advice was given, may be read in part in Miss Kendall's *Source Book of English History*, pp. 173 *sqq*.

8. The Gospell earnestlie to be promoted, and the Churche not burdened with unnecessarie ceremonies.

9. The Protestants, which onlie are faithfull subjects, are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in authoritie, the Papistes are to be displaced.

Theese put in execution, wolde twrne to Goddes glory, the saftie of the Quene's Majestie and make the Realme florishe and stande.

VIII. The Latter Part of Elizabeth's Reign

The following letter from John Hawkins, the famous English mariner, who participated in the fight against the Armada, gives a lively notion of the conflict with the Spanish fleet, which was in progress as he wrote.

290. John Hawkins' letter about the fight with the Armada (July, 1588)

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good lordship. I have not busied myself to write often to your lordship in this great cause, for that my lord admiral doth continually advertise the manner of all things that doth pass. So do others that do understand the state of all things as well as myself. We met with this fleet somewhat to the westward of Plymouth upon Sunday in the morning, being the 21st of July, where we had some small fight with them in the afternoon. By the coming aboard one of the other of the Spaniards, a great ship, a Biscayan, spent her foremast and bowsprit, which was left by the fleet in the sea, and so taken up by Sir Francis Drake the next morning. The same Sunday there was, by a fire chancing by a barrel of powder, a great Biscayan spoiled and abandoned, which my lord took up and sent away. The Tuesday following, athwart of Portland, we had a sharp and long fight with them, wherein we spent a great part of our powder and shot, so as it was not thought good to deal with them any more till that was relieved.

The Thursday following, by the occasion of the scattering of one of the great ships from the fleet which we hoped to have cut off, there grew a hot fray, wherein some store

of powder was spent; and after that little done until we came near to Calais, where the fleet of Spain anchored, and our fleet by them; and because they should not be in peace there, to refresh their water or to have conference with those of the duke of Parma's party, my lord admiral, with firing of ships, determined to remove them; as he did, and put them to the seas; in which broil the chief galleass spoiled her rudder, and so rode ashore near the town of Calais, where she was possessed of our men, but so aground that she could not be brought away.

That morning being Monday, the 29th of July, we followed the Spaniards, and all that day had with them a long and great fight, wherein there was great valor showed generally by our company. In this battle there was spent very much of our powder and shot; and so the wind began to blow westerly, a fresh gale, and the Spaniards put themselves somewhat to the northward, where we follow and keep company with them. . . .

Our ships, God be thanked, have received little hurt, and are of great force to accompany them, and of such advantage that with some continuance at the seas, and sufficiently provided of shot and powder, we shall be able, with God's favor, to weary them out of the sea and confound them. Yet as I gather certainly, there are amongst them fifty forcible and invincible ships. There are thirty hulks and thirty small ships, whereof little account is to be made. . . .

Destination of the Armada.

At their departing from Lisbon the soldiers were twenty thousand, the mariners and others eight thousand; so as, in all, they were twenty-eight thousand men. Their commission was to confer with the prince of Parma, as I learn, and then proceed to the service that should be there concluded; and so the duke to return into Spain with these ships and mariners, the soldiers and their furniture being left behind. Now this fleet is here and very forcible, and must be waited upon with all our force, which is little enough. There should be an infinite quantity of powder and shot provided and continually sent abroad; without

the which great hazard may grow to our country; for this is the greatest and strongest combination, to my understanding, that ever was gathered in Christendom; therefore I wish it, of all hands, to be mightily and diligently looked into and cared for. . . .

And so, praying to God for a happy deliverance from the malicious and dangerous practice of our enemies, I humbly take my leave. From the sea, aboard the *Victory*, the last of July, 1588.

The Spaniards take their course for Scotland; my lord doth follow them. I doubt not, with God's favor, but we shall impeach their landing. There must be order for victual and money, powder and shot, to be sent after us.

Your lordship's humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKYNS.

In a letter written shortly after Elizabeth's death by one well acquainted with her court, we have a good description of her chief traits and tastes.

291. Elizabeth's character and tastes. (From an unknown contemporary.)

I will proceed with the description of the queen's disposition and natural gifts of mind and body, wherein she either matched or exceeded all the princes of her time, as being of a great spirit yet tempered with moderation, in adversity never dejected, in prosperity rather joyful than proud; affable to her subjects, but always with due regard to the greatness of her estate, by reason whereof she was both loved and feared.

In her later time, when she showed herself in public, she was always magnificent in apparel; supposing haply thereby that the eyes of her people (being dazzled by the glittering aspect of those her outward ornaments) would not so easily discern the marks of age and decay of natural beauty; and she came abroad the more seldom, to make her presence the more grateful and applauded by the multitude, to whom things rarely seen are in manner as new.

She suffered not, at any time, any suitor to depart discontented from her, and though ofttimes he obtained not

that he desired, yet he held himself satisfied with her manner of speech, which gave hope of success in the second attempt. . . .

She was accounted in her latter time to be very near, and oversparing of expense; and yet, if the rewards which she gave of mere motion and grace had been bestowed of merit, with due respect, they had doubtless purchased her the name of a very liberal prince. . . .

She was very rich in jewels, which had been given her by her subjects; for in times of progress there was no person that entertained her in his house but (besides his extraordinary charge in feasting her and her train) he bestowed a jewel upon her; a custom in former times begun by some of her especial favorites that (having in great measure tasted of her bounty) did give her only of her own; though otherwise that kind of giving was not so pleasing to gentlemen of meaner quality.

Elizabeth's learning.

Touching these commendable qualities whereto, partly by nature and partly by education and industry, she had attained, there were few men that (when time and occasion served) could make better use or more show of them than herself. The Latin, French, and Italian she could speak very elegantly, and she was able in all those languages to answer ambassadors on the sudden. Her manner of writing was somewhat obscure and the style not vulgar, as being either learned by imitation of some author whom she delighted to read, or else affected for difference' sake, that she might not write in such phrases as were commonly used. Of the Greek tongue also she was not altogether ignorant. She took pleasure in reading of the best and wisest histories, and some part of Tacitus' *Annals* she herself turned into English for her private exercise. She also translated Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and a treatise of Plutarch, *De Curiositate*, with divers others.

For her private pleasures, she used them moderately and warily, without touch to her reputation or offense to her people. She was in her diet very temperate, as eating but a few kinds of meat and those not compounded; the wine

she drank was mingled with water, containing three parts more in quantity than the wine itself. Precise hours of refection she observed not, as never eating but when her appetite required it. In matters of recreation, as singing, dancing, and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant or excellent: a measure which in things indifferent best beseems a prince.

She was of nature somewhat hasty, but quickly appeased; ready there to show most kindness where a little before she had been most sharp in reproving. Her greatest grief of mind and body she either patiently endured or politicly dissembled. I have heard it credibly reported that, not long before her death, she was divers times troubled with the gout in her fingers, whereof she would never complain, as seeming better pleased to be thought insensible of the pain than to acknowledge the disease. . . .

It is credibly reported that not long before her death she had a great apprehension of her own age and declination by seeing her face (then lean and full of wrinkles) truly represented to her in a glass, which she a good while very earnestly beheld; perceiving thereby how often she had been abused by flatterers (whom she held in too great estimation) that had informed her the contrary.

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[1] See reference to this catechism above, p. 160.

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FOX (1516–1587), *Book of Martyrs: The Acts and Monuments of the Church*. Innumerable editions since the first in 1563. Fox was too partisan to be critical. He used rumors and hearsay evidence, willfully exaggerated, and included many persons executed for secular offenses.

The statutes and state papers (see above, p. 155) are also indispensable for every phase of the Elizabethan period.

Prothero's *Select Statutes.*

PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, 1894. This handy volume contains important statutes of the reign and materials on parliamentary, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical affairs.

The student should be aware of the existence of great collections of miscellaneous material, like the publications of the Camden Society, of the Parker Society, of the Early English Text Society, etc., also of *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, edited by Ellis. See exhaustive bibliography in *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. III, pp. 810 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XXIX

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

I. The Opening of the Thirty Years' War

The suspicions entertained by the Protestants in regard to the Jesuits at the time of the organization of the Protestant Union are brought out in a letter written by the elector of Saxony, a Lutheran, to his representative at the diet in 1608.

292. Activity of the Jesuits in Germany before the Thirty Years' War.

How violently the restless Jesuits and their followers are exerting themselves to undo, by their absurd interpretations and preposterous attacks, the precious and solemnly ratified Religious Peace [of Augsburg] which was drawn up long years ago for many weighty reasons by his Roman Imperial Majesty and all the estates of the empire, is but too clear. Nay, they would completely abolish it and then do away altogether with our true Christian religion, in which we were born and brought up and in which we would live and die. All this is sufficiently proved by the innumerable, violent, and poisonous books which they issue throughout the Roman Empire, directed against the said Religious Peace and its clear provisions, declaring it to be no more than *ad interim*, — a temporary concession of toleration, designed to last only until the conclusion of the Council of Trent ; even going so far as to imply that his Imperial Majesty of happy memory had no authority to arrange the peace among the estates of the empire without the consent of the pope. Moreover they stir up harsh persecutions hitherto unheard of in the Holy Roman Empire, all with a view to accomplishing their end, — namely, to promote discord among the estates of the Holy

Roman Empire, to rouse the several governments against their subjects and *vice versa*, and to check and suppress our true Christian religion and bring it back into the condition and contempt in which it was before the establishment of the religious and secular peace.

We know, however, that his Roman Imperial Majesty [Rudolf II] and the peace-loving Catholic estates, with their Christian and loyal German feelings, have no pleasure in the dangerous practices of the Jesuits and their adherents. . . . Moreover, since the nature and character of the Jesuits and their followers are as notorious among Catholics as among Protestants, and since what they have been up to in Sweden, Poland, France, the Netherlands, and, recently, in Italy, is well known, they should be estimated accordingly and precautions taken against their dangerous plots.

An English historian of the time, Rushworth, thus describes the opening of the Thirty Years' War. James I of England was deeply interested in 1618 in negotiating a marriage between his son and heir, Charles, and a Spanish princess.

Whilst Spain and England were thus closing, the fire brake out in Germany between the states and princes Protestant and the house of Austria. These commotions involved and drew along the affairs of most Christian princes, especially of the two potent kings now in treaty. The Catholic cause and the lot of the house of Austria engaged the king of Spain, who was the strongest branch of that stock. King James must needs be drawn in, both by common and particular interest: the religion which he professed and the state of his son-in-law, the elector palatine, who became the principal part of those wars and the most unfortunate. It was an high business to the whole Christian world, and the issue of it had main dependence upon the king of England, being the mightiest prince of the Protestant profession. But this king's proceedings were wholly governed by the unhappy Spanish treaty.

293. An English view of the opening of the war. (From Rushworth.)

The clouds gather thick in the German sky; jealousies and discontents arise between the Catholics and the Evangelics, or Lutherans, of the Confession of Augsburg. Both parties draw into confederacies and hold assemblies; the one seeking by the advantage of power to encroach and get ground, the other to stand their ground and hold their own. The potency of the house of Austria, a house devoted to the persecution of the reformed religion, became formidable. The old emperor Mathias declared his cousin german, the archduke Ferdinand, to be his adopted son and successor, and caused him to be chosen and crowned king of Bohemia and Hungary, yet reserving to himself the sole exercise of kingly power during his life.

The Jesuits triumphed in their hopes of King Ferdinand. The pope exhorted the Catholics to keep a day of jubilee and to implore aid of God for the Church's high occasions. To answer this festival the elector of Saxony called to mind that it was then the hundredth year complete since Martin Luther opposed the papal indulgences, which was the first beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Whereupon he ordained a solemn feast of three days for thanksgiving and for prayer to God to maintain in peace the purity of the Word and the right administration of the sacraments. The professors of the universities of Lipsick and Wittemberg, the imperial towns of Franckford, Worms, and Noremburg, —yea, the Calvinists also, — observed the same days of jubilee against the Romish Church, and much gold and silver was cast abroad in memory of Luther, whom they called blessed. . . .

The Bohemian troubles.

The Bohemian troubles took their first rise from the breach of the edict of peace concerning religion and the accord made by the emperor Rudolf whereby the Protestants retained the free exercise of their religion, enjoyed their temples, colleges, tithes, patronages, places of burial, and the like, and had liberty to build new temples and power to choose defenders to secure these rights and to regulate what should be the service in their churches. Now the stop of building certain churches on lands within

the lordships of the Catholic clergy (in which the Evangelics conceived a right to build) was the special grievance and cause of breach.

The Protestants organize a revolution in Prague.

On the 23d of May the chief of the Evangelics went armed into the castle of Prague, entered the council chamber, and opened their grievances; but, enraged by opposition, they threw Slabata, the chief justice, and Smesansius, one of the council, and Fabricius, the secretary, from an high window into the castle ditch; others of the council, temporizing in this tumult and seeming to accord with their demands, were peacefully conducted to their own houses. Hereupon the assembly took advice to settle the towns and castle of Prague with new guards; likewise to appease the people and take the oath of fidelity. They chose directors, governors, councilors provincial to govern affairs of state, and to consult of raising forces against the enemies of God and the king and the edicts of his Imperial Majesty. They banished the Jesuits throughout all Bohemia.

After the expulsion of the "Winter King" from Bohemia, his English wife wrote to her father, James I, as follows:

294. A letter from Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, to her father, James I of England.

Sire:

I do not wish to importune your Majesty with a very long letter. The Baron de Dona will not fail to inform your Majesty of the misfortune that has befallen us and which has compelled us to leave Prague, and to come to this place, where God knows how long we shall remain. I therefore most humbly entreat your Majesty to protect the king and myself by sending us succor; otherwise we shall be brought to utter ruin. It is your Majesty alone, next to Almighty God, from whom we expect assistance. I most humbly thank your Majesty for the favorable declaration you have been pleased to make respecting the preservation of the Palatinate. I most humbly entreat you to do the same for us here and to send us sufficient succor to defend ourselves against our enemies; otherwise I do not know

what shall become of us. I therefore again entreat your Majesty to have compassion on us, and not to abandon the king at this hour, when he is in such great need. As to myself, I am resolved not to leave him; for if he should perish, I will perish also with him. But whatever may happen, never, never shall I be other than, sire,

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient daughter and servant, ELIZABETH.

BRESLAU, November 23/13, 1620.

The following are supposed to be the reflections of a good Catholic upon the reckless experiment of the Calvinistic Frederick, the "Winter King" of Bohemia, who was not only unable to hold his new crown, but lost his old possessions, the Rhenish palatinate.

295. A Catholic song about the poor "Winter King."

Oh, shame on you, poor Winter King!
What 's this that you have done?
Is 't not a very naughty thing
To snatch the kaiser's crown?
Now you will have to stay away
Alike from Rhine and Prague,
And more than that — shame and dismay
Your days and nights will plague.

Dear Fritz, good fellow, oh, come now,
Give up, give up the crown!
To hell, to meet your just reward,
Full soon you will go down.
So every one who flies too high
Is sure to go amiss;
Presumption, aiming at the sky,
Must pay in hell's abyss.

Alas! dear Fritz, my gay young blood,
I think it well may be
A seasoned switch betimes had spared
This monstrous infamy.

Right well you knew, and all the world,
  Right well they know this thing,
That Ferdinand alone can be
  Bohemia's lawful king.

So come, dear Fritz, rouse up and go
  To Ferdinand, your king,
And beg him graciously to show
  Full pardon for your sin.
Give to your king what is his own,
  To God what is his due,
So shall you for your sin atone
  And act the good prince, too.

II. The Intervention of Gustavus Adolphus

The boundless cruelty and insolence of Wallenstein — who had forced the emperor to make him duke of Mechlenburg after outlawing the legitimate dukes — aroused the suspicion and anger of the Catholic princes as well as of the Protestant. At a meeting of the electors, summoned at Regensburg in the summer of 1630, all joined in demanding from the reluctant emperor the immediate dismissal of Wallenstein, just as Gustavus Adolphus had arrived on German soil.

296. The electors demand the dismissal of Wallenstein (1630) (From a contemporaneous history.)

The electors, in a dignified and reasonable address, expressed their firm conviction that the whole blame for the misery, disgrace, and infamy, the cruel and unnecessary military exactions, which were daily increasing, rested with the new duke in Mechlenburg, who, as commander of the imperial forces, had been invested, without the consent of the estates, with such powers as no one before him had ever exercised. The soldiery, now become unspeakably numerous, served no other purpose than to lay waste the common fatherland. Moreover war has been waged upon

those against whom it had never been declared. Contributions which, according to the decrees of the diet, no one had the right to demand without the consent of the assembled estates, were levied at the duke's own will and pleasure and wrung from the people in barbarous ways. It was shown that the electorate of Brandenburg alone in the last few years had furnished twenty million gulden, to say nothing of the terrible disturbances and destruction that war always brings with it. They complained, moreover, most bitterly of the excessive pomp and magnificence maintained by the duke and his officers, in the way of clothing, gold and silver utensils, and costly horses.

Complaints of the duke of Romerania.

[Among the complaints from other princes and estates of the realm, the following, presented to the emperor by an ambassador from the duke of Pomerania, is especially noteworthy.] The duke of Pomerania doubts not that your Imperial Majesty has in remembrance how that he has at divers times protested against the unheard-of and unspeakable hardships and extortions which have now for almost three years been practiced upon him and his subjects by the troops quartered in the land, and which still continue unabated; whereof he once more most earnestly complains, and humbly begs for relief. The burden has now become so great that he can bear it no longer.

According to the decisions and decrees of the imperial diet, he is under no obligation to support an army by himself and bear unaided a burden that should be divided among all the members of the empire. Nevertheless, for almost three years past, he has had to maintain within his dukedom and other territories over a hundred companies of your Imperial Majesty's army, besides sending supplies to outside points, and having the soldiery continually marching about the country. The outlay in the principality of Stettin alone amounts to fully ten million gulden; this can be verified at any time.

Worst of all are the vexatious means used in collecting these monthly contributions from our officials and subjects. A new and unheard-of *modus extorquendi* has been invented,

such as was never before practiced by honest soldiers quartered in a friendly land; and the exactions are carried out with such rigorous excess under the officers in charge that the miserable victims can scarce keep shirts on their backs. And what insolent excesses and willful interference with church services, despoiling of churches, violation of graves of the dead, infringements of every sort of our sovereignty and authority, disarming of our subjects and curtailing of our revenue as ruler! This last has actually gone so far that it is impossible for us, from all the length and breadth of our land, to maintain a table befitting our princely rank; whereas every captain, out of his own district alone, lives in more than princely style and sends away large sums besides. Toward the poor people they are barbarous and tyrannical beyond words, beating, burning, and plundering, and depriving them of the very necessities of existence, till they are in danger of soul as well as body, for they are driven to such unnatural and inhuman food as buds of trees and grass, and even to the flesh of their own children and of dead bodies.

Gustavus Adolphus before sailing for Germany bade a touching farewell to the representatives of his people assembled at Stockholm (May, 1630).

297. Gustavus Adolphus' farewell to the Swedish estates (May, 1630).

I call on the all-powerful God to witness, by whose providence we are here assembled, that it is not by my own wish, or from any love of war, that I undertake this campaign. On the contrary, I have been now for several years goaded into it by the imperial party, not only through the reception accorded to our emissary to Lübeck, but also by the action of their general in aiding with his army our enemies, the Poles, to our great detriment. We have been urged, moreover, by our harassed brother-in-law [the elector of Brandenburg] to undertake this war, the chief object of which is to free our oppressed brothers in the faith from the clutches of the pope, which, God helping us, we hope to do.

But even as the pitcher that goes daily to the well must sometime break, so will it be with me; for though, for the welfare of the Swedish kingdom, I have already gone through many dangers and seen much shedding of blood, and have come through it all so far — thanks to God's gracious protection — without bodily harm, yet the time will come when all is over for me and I must say farewell to life. Therefore I have desired before my departure to see you all, from far and near, subjects and estates of Sweden, gathered about me, that we may together commend ourselves and each other, in body, soul, and estate, to our all-gracious God, in the hope that it may be his will, after this weary and troublous life, to bring us again together in the heavenly and everlasting life that he has prepared for us.

Especially do I commend you, counselors of the kingdom, to the all-powerful God, desiring that you may never fail in good counsel, that you may uphold your office and rank to the honor of God, that his holy word may remain undefiled to ourselves and our descendants in the fatherland, so that peace and unity may blossom and flourish, and discontent, discord, and dissension be unknown, and that your counsels may ever bring safety, quiet, and peace to the fatherland. Finally, may you strive to bring up your children to respect the laws and in every way to serve and strengthen the government of the kingdom. This is the wish of my whole heart.

You of the knight's estate I likewise ardently commend to the Most High God, with the hope that you may stand by your traditions, and that you and your descendants may regain for yourselves and spread abroad through the whole world the undying renown of the Goths, our forefathers, whose once famous name is now, alas, long forgotten —yea, well-nigh despised — by foreigners, but whose spirit has already, during my reign, shone forth again in your manly behavior, your unfailing courage, your sacrifices of blood and life. May our descendants once more glory in the might of their forefathers, who subjugated various kingdoms and ruled through hundreds of years

to the welfare of the fatherland. May their name again win undying fame and be feared by kings and princes, and may you of the noble class gain world-wide renown. This do I hereby wish you.

You of the priestly class I would, in parting, remind of your duty to admonish your hearers (whose hearts are in your keeping) to be faithful and true to their rulers and perform their duty obediently and cheerfully. Strengthen your flocks, that they may live together in peace and concord and not be led astray by the counsels of evil men. But it is not enough that you instruct them in these matters — it is my wish that you should walk before them in blameless rectitude, offending none, so that not only by your teaching and preaching, but by your example as well, they may become a useful and peaceful people.

For you, burghers, I wish that your little cottages may grow into big stone houses, your little boats into great ships; and that the oil in your cruses may never fail. This, for you, is my parting wish.

For the rest, I wish for you all that your fields may wax green and bring forth fruit a hundredfold; that your chests may overflow, and your comfort and well-being grow and increase, so that your duty may be done with joy and not in sighing. Above all, do I commend you, each and every one, in soul and body, to God Almighty.

The German princes reluctant to join Gustavus.

Upon his arrival in Germany, Gustavus was received with natural suspicion by the Protestant princes of northern Germany, who were not unnaturally reluctant to ally themselves with a powerful foreign monarch against the emperor. The Swedish king thus expostulated with the cautious representative of his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg:

I have received your explanation of the grounds on which my honored brother-in-law seeks to dissuade me from this war. I confess I should have expected a different sort

298. Gustavus Adolphus' reply to the ambassador from Brandenburg (July, 1630).

of embassy, since God has brought me thus far, and since I have come into this land for no other purpose than to free it from the thieves and robbers who have so plagued it, and, first and foremost, to help his Excellency out of his difficulties. Does his Excellency then not know that the emperor and his followers do not mean to rest till the evangelical religion is wholly rooted out of the empire, and that his Excellency has nothing else to expect than being forced either to deny his religion or to leave his country? Does he think by prayers and beseechings and such like means to obtain something different?

For God's sake, bethink yourselves and take counsel like men! I cannot go back — *jacta est alea: transivimus Rubiconem.* I seek not my own advantage in this war, nor any gain save the security of my kingdom; I can look for nothing but expense, hard work, trouble, and danger to life and limb. I have found reason enough for my coming in that Prussia has twice sent aid to my enemies and attempted to overthrow me; thereafter they tried to seize the east port, which made it plain enough what designs they had against me. Even so has his Excellency, the elector, like reasons, and the time has come for him to open his eyes and face the situation, instead of acting as the representative — nay, rather servant — of the emperor in his own land; *qui se fait brebis, le loup le mange.*

Now is his opportunity, since his territory is free of the emperor's troops, to garrison and defend his fortresses. If he will not do this, let him give me a single stronghold, — Custrin, for instance, — and I will defend it, and you can persist in the indolence that your master loves. What other course is there open? For I tell you plainly that I will know nor hear nothing of "neutrality"; his Excellency must be either friend or foe. When I reach his frontier he must declare himself either hot or cold. The fight is between God and the devil. If his Excellency is on God's side, let him stand by me; if he holds rather with the devil, then he must fight with me; there is no third course, — that is certain.

You must undertake to transmit this commission faithfully to his Excellency, for I have no one whom I can spare to send to him. . . .

Gustavus lingered in northern Germany for some months, until finally the Protestant princes were induced to join him by the fall of Magdeburg and the fearful massacre of its inhabitants by the imperial troops under Pappenheim and Tilly. This event is thus described by a writer of the period:

299. The destruction of Magdeburg (May, 1631).

So then General Pappenheim collected a number of his people on the ramparts by the New Town, and brought them from there into the streets of the city. Von Falckenberg[1] was shot, and fires were kindled in different quarters; then indeed it was all over with the city, and further resistance was useless. Nevertheless some of the soldiers and citizens did try to make a stand here and there, but the imperial troops kept bringing on more and more forces — cavalry, too — to help them, and finally they got the Kröckenthor open and let in the whole imperial army and the forces of the Catholic League, — Hungarians, Croats, Poles, Walloons, Italians, Spaniards, French, North and South Germans.

Thus it came about that the city and all its inhabitants fell into the hands of the enemy, whose violence and cruelty were due in part to their common hatred of the adherents of the Augsburg Confession, and in part to their being imbittered by the chain shot which had been fired at them and by the derision and insults that the Magdeburgers had heaped upon them from the ramparts.

Then was there naught but beating and burning, plundering, torture, and murder. Most especially was every one of the enemy bent on securing much booty. When a marauding party entered a house, if its master had anything to

[1] The ambassador of Gustavus Adolphus, who had brought some aid to the beleaguered city.

give he might thereby purchase respite and protection for himself and his family till the next man, who also wanted something, should come along. It was only when everything had been brought forth and there was nothing left to give that the real trouble commenced. Then, what with blows and threats of shooting, stabbing, and hanging, the poor people were so terrified that if they had had anything left they would have brought it forth if it had been buried in the earth or hidden away in a thousand castles. In this frenzied rage, the great and splendid city that had stood like a fair princess in the land was now, in its hour of direst need and unutterable distress and woe, given over to the flames, and thousands of innocent men, women, and children, in the midst of a horrible din of heartrending shrieks and cries, were tortured and put to death in so cruel and shameful a manner that no words would suffice to describe, nor no tears to bewail it. . . .

Thus in a single day this noble and famous city, the pride of the whole country, went up in fire and smoke; and the remnant of its citizens, with their wives and children, were taken prisoners and driven away by the enemy with a noise of weeping and wailing that could be heard from afar, while the cinders and ashes from the town were carried by the wind to Wanzleben, Egeln, and still more distant places. . . .

In addition to all this, quantities of sumptuous and irreplaceable house furnishings and movable property of all kinds, such as books, manuscripts, paintings, memorials of all sorts, . . . which money could not buy, were either burned or carried away by the soldiers as booty. The most magnificent garments, hangings, silk stuffs, gold and silver lace, linen of all sorts, and other household goods were bought by the army sutlers for a mere song and peddled about by the cart load all through the archbishopric of Magdeburg and in Anhalt and Brunswick. Gold chains and rings, jewels, and every kind of gold and silver utensils were to be bought from the common soldiers for a tenth of their real value. . . .

III. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648)

The treaties of Westphalia, the one signed at Münster and the other at Osnabrück, are voluminous, and would fill more than a hundred pages of this volume if printed in full. They contain but six or seven really memorable articles,[1] and are for the most part filled with multitudinous provisions regarding the church lands over which Catholics and Protestants had so long been contending, and minor territorial changes among the lesser German states. The treaty of Osnabrück opens as follows[2]:

300. Opening of the treaty of Osnabrück (October 24, 1648).

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity. To all whom these presents may concern, be it known:

When the divisions and disorders which began several years ago in the Roman Empire had grown to a point where not only all Germany but some of the neighboring kingdoms as well, especially Sweden and France, found themselves so involved that a long and bitter war resulted, in the first instance between the most serene and powerful prince and lord, Ferdinand II, emperor elect of the Romans, always august, king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, etc., archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, Brabant, etc., etc., etc., . . . of glorious memory, his allies and adherents, on the one part, and the most serene and powerful prince and lord, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, grand prince of Finland, duke of Esthonia, etc., also of glorious memory, together with the kingdom of Sweden, its allies and adherents, on the other part; later, after the decease of these aforementioned, between the most serene and powerful lord, Ferdinand III, emperor elect of the Romans, always august, king of Germany, etc., etc., and the most serene and very powerful princess and lady, Christina, queen of Sweden, of the Goths

[1] For these see *History of Western Europe*, p. 473 (Vol. II, p. 121).
[2] The treaty of Münster opens with essentially the same words.

and Vandals, etc.; from which war resulted a great effusion of Christian blood and the desolation of divers provinces, until at last, through the movings of the Divine Goodness, it came about that both parties began to turn their thoughts toward the means of reëstablishing peace, and by a mutual agreement made at Hamburg, December 25 (New Style), or the 15th (Old Style), of the year 1641, between the parties, the date July 11 (New Style) or 1 (Old Style) was fixed for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries at Osnabrück and at Münster in Westphalia. In accordance with this, the ambassadors plenipotentiary duly appointed by both parties appeared at the said time and places named, to wit . . . [here follow the names of the ambassadors and their numerous titles].

After invoking the aid of God and exchanging their credentials, copies of which are inserted word for word in the present treaty, they arranged and agreed upon the articles of peace and amity which follow, to the glory of God and for the welfare of the Christian commonwealth; the electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire being present and approving.

As head of the Church, Pope Innocent X promptly declared null and void all the articles in the treaties of Westphalia relating to religious matters.

301. The pope declares a great part of the treaties of Westphalia null and void.

Consumed by zeal for the house of the Lord, we are especially concerned with the endeavor everywhere to maintain the integrity of the orthodox faith and the authority of the Catholic Church, so that the ecclesiastical rights of which we have been appointed guardian by our Saviour shall not in any way be impaired by those who seek their own interest rather than God's, and that we may not be accused of negligence when we shall render account to the Sovereign Judge. Accordingly it is not without deep pain that we have learned that by several articles in the peace concluded at Osnabrück, August 6,[1] 1648, between our very dear son

[1] This is not the date commonly given for the concluding of the treaty.

in Christ, Ferdinand, king of the Romans and emperor elect, his allies and adherents, on the one hand, and the Swedes, with their allies and adherents, on the other, as well as in that peace which was likewise concluded at Münster in Westphalia on the twenty-fourth day of October of this same year 1648, between the same Ferdinand, king of the Romans, etc., and our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Louis, the very Christian king of the French, his allies and adherents, great prejudice has been done to the Catholic religion, the divine service, the Roman apostolic see, the ecclesiastical order, their jurisdictions, authority, immunities, liberties, exemptions, privileges, possessions, and rights; since by various articles in one of these treaties of peace the ecclesiastical possessions which the heretics formerly seized are abandoned to them and to their successors, and the heretics, called those of the Augsburg Confession, are permitted the free exercise of their heresy in various districts. They are promised places in which they may build temples for their worship and are admitted with the Catholics to public offices and positions. . . .

The number seven of the electors of the empire, formerly ratified by the apostolic authority, is increased without our consent or that of the said see, and an eighth electorate has been erected in favor of Charles Louis, count of the Rhenish palatinate, a heretic. Many other things have been done too shameful to enumerate and very prejudicial to the orthodox religion and the Roman see. . . .

[Accordingly] we assert and declare by these presents that all the said articles in one or both of the said treaties which in any way impair or prejudice in the slightest degree, or that can be said, alleged, understood, or imagined to be able in any way to injure or to have injured the Catholic religion, divine worship, the salvation of souls, the said Roman apostolic see, the inferior churches, the ecclesiastical order or estate, their persons, affairs, possessions, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, liberties, privileges, prerogatives, and rights whatsoever, — all such provisions have been, and are of right, and shall perpetually be, null

and void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, condemned, rejected, frivolous, without force or effect, and no one is to observe them, even when they be ratified by oath. . . .

Given at Rome in Santa Maria Maggiore, under seal of the fisherman's ring, November 26th of the year 1648, and of our pontificate the fifth.

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C. Materials for advanced study.

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Droysen, G., *Das Zeitalter des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*, 1888 (in the Oncken Series). An elaborate account of the conditions in Germany during the sixty years preceding the opening of the war.

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Periodical literature.

During the Thirty Years' War something like our modern periodical publications began to make their appearance. In Germany Abelinus in his *Theatrum Europaeum* furnished at intervals an account of the events of the war. This collection, beautifully illustrated, which took final shape in 1679, is one of the chief sources of our knowledge. In London *The Swedish Intelligencer* was issued at intervals between 1632 and 1637 for the purpose of giving "the truest and choysest" news about Gustavus Adolphus and the progress of the war, compiled from letters received from Germany. In France a regular magazine, the *Mercure de France*, had been established just before the opening of the war. This continued to be issued for two centuries. Unfortunately all three of these publications are rarely to be found except in the very largest libraries.

Grimmelshausen, Hans Jacob (1620?–1676), *Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus*. This and other romances, written by one who well knew the horrors of the war, may be regarded as suggestive sources of information for the general conditions in Germany. The *Simplicissimus* is easily to be had in several excellent German editions.

CHAPTER XXX

STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

I. Difference of Opinion between James I and the Commons

302. James I's dislike for Presbyterians.

At a conference held in 1604, James had to listen to a speech by a Puritan divine which recalled to him his troubles with presbyteries in Scotland.

At which speech his Majesty was somewhat stirred, yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or show thereof; thinking that they aimed at a Scottish presbytery which, saith he, as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the devil. "Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say it must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, 'Nay, marry, but we will have it thus.' . . .

Policy of Knox and the Scotch Presbyterians.

"I will tell you a tale. After that the religion restored by King Edward the Sixth was soon overthrown by the succession of Queen Mary here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect of it. Whereupon Master Knox writes to the queen regent[1] (of whom, without flattery, I may say that she was a virtuous and moderate lady), telling her that she was supreme head of the Church, and charged her, as she would answer it before God's tribunal, to take care of Christ, his Evangel, and of suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood the same. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even so long, till by her authority, the popish bishops were repressed. He [Knox] himself and his adherents

[1] The mother of Mary, Queen of Scots.

were brought in and well settled, and by these means made strong enough to undertake the matters of reformation themselves. Then, lo, they began to make small account of her supremacy, nor would longer rest upon her authority, but took the cause into their own hand; according to that more light wherewith they were illuminated, made a further reformation of religion. How they used that poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and with grief I may remember it; who, because she had not been otherwise instructed, did desire only a private chapel wherein to serve God, after her manner, with some few selected persons; but her supremacy was not sufficient to obtain it at their hands. And how they dealt with me in my minority you all know; it was not done secretly, and though I would, I cannot conceal it. . . . But if once you [my lords the bishops] were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy. No bishop, no king, as before I said."

James I gave an interesting summary of his absolutist theory of kings and their rights in his speeches before Parliament in 1609.

303. James I proclaims in Parliament the divine right of kings (1609).

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. There be three principal similitudes that illustrate the state of monarchy: one taken out of the word of God; and the two other out of the grounds of policy and philosophy. In the Scriptures kings are called gods, and so their power after a certain relation compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families; for a king is truly *parens patriae*, the politic father of his people. And lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man.

Kings are justly called gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth; for if you will consider the attributes to God, you shall see how

they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none, to raise low things and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects, they have power of raising and casting down, of life and of death, judges over all their subjects and in all causes and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things and abase high things, and make of their subjects, like men at the chess, — a pawn to take a bishop or a knight, — and to cry up or down any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul and the service of the body of his subjects. . . .

James tells the commons what they should not do.

I would wish you to be careful to avoid three things in the matter of grievances:

First, that you do not meddle with the main points of government; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*, — to meddle with that were to lessen me. I am now an old king; for six and thirty years have I governed in Scotland personally, and now have I accomplished my apprenticeship of seven years here; and seven years is a great time for a king's experience in government; therefore there should not be too many Phormios to teach Hannibal: I must not be taught my office.

Secondly, I would not have you meddle with such ancient rights of mine as I have received from my predecessors, possessing them, *more majorum;* such things I would be sorry should be accounted for grievances. All novelties are dangerous as well in a politic as in a natural body, and therefore I would be loath to be quarreled in my ancient rights and possessions; for that were to judge me unworthy of that which my predecessors had and left me.

And, lastly, I pray you beware to exhibit for grievance anything that is established by settled law, and whereunto (as you have already had a proof) you know I will never

give a plausible answer; for it is an undutiful part in subjects to press their king, wherein they know beforehand he will refuse them.[1]

II. The Petition of Right (1628)

Charles I was, from the start, on even worse terms with Parliament than his father had been. The commons had, in addition to the old grievances, serious complaints to make in regard to the character and policy of Charles' chief minister, Buckingham. Two Parliaments were dissolved by the king in anger, and he raised a great storm of opposition by forced loans, arbitrary imprisonment, and other tyrannical acts. When, however, his third Parliament drew up the famous Petition of Right, a sort of second Magna Charta, he was forced to approve it, because he had to have money to carry on the war with France.

To the king's Most Excellent Majesty:

304. The Petition of Right (1628) (Extracts.)

We humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I, commonly called "*Statutum de Tallagio non Concedendo*," that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm without the good will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm;

[1] Yet James well knew the difference between an absolute king and a tyrant, as he makes clear in his instructions to his son (*Works of James I*, p. 155):

Consider first the true difference between a lawful good king and an usurping tyrant. . . . The one acknowledgeth himself ordained for his people, having received from God a burden of government, whereof he must be countable; the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites.

and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided, that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by any such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent in Parliament:

II. Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions, directed to sundry commissioners in several counties with instructions, have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled and required to lend certain sums of money unto your Majesty, and many of them upon their refusal so to do . . . have been constrained to make appearance before your privy council and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted. . . .

III. And whereas also, by the statute called "The Great Charter of the liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. . . .

V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; . . . and whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of this realm, and the inhabitants, against their will, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn,

against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people. . . .

X. They [Parliament] do therefore humbly pray your most excellent Majesty that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any loan, gift, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the foresaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your Majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your Majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom.

After a particularly tumultuous scene in the House of Commons in March, 1629,[1] Charles dissolved the

[1] See a description of this famous session in Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, pp. 219 *sqq*.

Parliament and did not reassemble it again for eleven years. He justified his conduct by a long defense. After reciting the recent acts of those opposed to his policy, he concluded:

305. Charles I justifies his policy in dispensing with an unruly Parliament (1629).

And now that our people may discern that these provocations of evil men (whose punishments we reserve to a due time) have not changed our good intentions to our subjects, we do here profess to maintain the true religion and doctrine established in the Church of England, without admitting or conniving at any backsliding either to popery or schism. We do also declare that we will maintain the ancient and just rights and liberties of our subjects, with so much constancy and justice that they shall have cause to acknowledge that under our government and gracious protection they live in a more happy and free estate than any subjects in the Christian world. Yet let no man hereby take the boldness to abuse that liberty, turning it to licentiousness; nor misinterpret the petition by perverting it to a lawless liberty, wantonly or frowardly, under that or any other color, to resist lawful and necessary authority. For as we will maintain our subjects in their just liberties, so we do and will expect that they yield as much submission and duty to our royal prerogatives, and as ready obedience to our authority and commandments, as hath been promised to the greatest of our predecessors. . . .

And now, having laid down the truth and clearness of our proceedings, all wise and discreet men may easily judge of those rumors and jealous fears that are maliciously and wickedly bruited abroad; and may discern, by examination of their own hearts, whether (in respect of the free passage of the gospel, indifferent and equal administration of justice, freedom from oppression, and the great peace and quietness which every man enjoyeth under his own vine and fig tree) the happiness of this nation can be paralleled by any of our neighbor countries; and, if not, then to acknowledge their own blessedness, and for the same be thankful to God, the author of all goodness.

During the latter part of James' reign and under Charles I, emigration to Holland and New England was promoted by the conditions in England.[1] John Winthrop, a gentleman of Suffolk who was to become governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, gives the following "Reasons to be considered for justifying the undertakers of the intended plantation in New England," (1629).

306. Conditions in England in 1629 which encouraged emigration to America.

1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the gospel into those parts of the world, to help on the coming of the fullness of the Gentiles, and to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labor to rear up in those parts.

2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and our sins, for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us and to cut us short, do threaten evil times to be coming upon us; and who knows but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he means to save out of the general calamity, and seeing the Church hath no place left to fly into but the wilderness, what better work can there be than to go and provide tabernacles and food for her against she comes thither?

3. This land grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man, who is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than an horse or a sheep; masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children; all towns complain of the burden of their poor, though we have taken up many unnecessary — yea, unlawful — trades to maintain them, and we use the authority of the law to hinder the increase of our people, as by urging the statute against cottages and inmates, and thus it is come to pass that children, servants, and neighbors,

[1] See the remarkable account by William Bradford of the voyage of the *Mayflower* in 1620, given in Colby, *Sources of English History*, pp. 184 *sqq.*

especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burdens, which, if things were right, would be the chiefest earthly blessings.

4. The whole earth is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of men with a general commission (Gen. i. 28) to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it, which was again renewed to Noah; the end is double and natural, that man might enjoy the fruits of the earth and God might have his due glory from the creature. Why then should we stand here striving for places of habitation, etc. (many men spending as much labor and cost to recover or keep sometimes an acre or two of land as would procure them many, and as good or better, in another country), and in the meantime suffer a whole continent as fruitful and convenient for the use of man to lie waste without any improvement?

5. We are grown to that height of intemperance in all excess of riot as no man's estate almost will suffice to keep sail with his equals; and who fails herein must live in scorn and contempt. Hence it comes that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful and unrighteous course as it is almost impossible for a good and upright man to maintain his charge and live comfortably in any of them.

6. The fountains of learning and religion are so corrupted as (besides the insupportable charge of their education) most children (even the best wits and of fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples and the licentious government of those seminaries where men strain at gnats and swallow camels, use all severity for maintenance of caps and other accompliments, but suffer all ruffianlike fashions and disorder in manners to pass uncontrolled.

7. What can be a better work and more honorable and worthy a Christian than to help raise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and join his forces with such a company of faithful people as by a timely assistance may grow strong and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined? . . .

III. The Personal Government of Charles I (1629–1640); Religious Parties

The political antagonism between Parliament and king was much imbittered by strong religious differences. The Established Church and its bishops, especially Archbishop Laud, were viewed with distrust by the "low church" party, which believed that the bishops were too much inclined to support the tyrannical claims of the king, and that they showed a tendency to reintroduce "popish practices." Naturally the Presbyterians and the Separatists, or Congregationalists, freely declared their abhorrence of bishops in general. The origin of the Puritans during Elizabeth's reign is thus described by one of them in a pamphlet, "The Plea for the Innocent."

307. Position of the Puritan (1602).

In the beginning of her Majesty's most happy reign, the gospel being published and preachers ordained to teach the people, many people, within a while feeling some taste of the heavenly comfort, began to delight in hearing of sermons, singing of psalms, in reading, and godly talk of Holy Scriptures which they were taught; and therewithal did somewhat refrain profane and unprofitable customs; and sometimes they admonished their neighbors if they did swear, and pray them to go with them to the sermon; the greater sort of the people, being old barrels which could hold no new wine, addicted partly to popery and partly to licentiousness, having many of them no other God but their bellies, would deride and scoff at them, and called them "holy brethren" and "holy sisters"; saying, "He is one of the pure and unspotted brethren!"

The Puritans were especially scrupulous in the observance of Sunday. The following are some of the fearful instances, cited by a Puritan writer, of God's anger against those who desecrated the holy day.

308. Judgment of God on those that break his holy Sabbath day. (From Wallington's *Historical Notices.*)

A husbandman, grinding corn upon the Lord's day, had his meal burned to ashes. Another, carrying corn on this day, had his barn and all his corn therein burnt with fire from heaven the next night after.

A husbandman would needs go to plow on the Sabbath day, but mark the fearful judgment of God upon him; for, as he cleansed his plow with an iron instrument, the iron stuck fast in his hand, and could not be got out, but there stuck two years as a manifest token of God's wrath against him for that horrible sin.

On the 23d January, 1582, being the Lord's day, the scaffolds fell in Paris Garden under the people at a bear baiting, so that eight were suddenly slain, innumerable hurt and maimed. A warning to such who take more pleasure on the Lord's day to be in a theater beholding carnal sports than to be in the church in serving of God.

A judgment on organs.

At Boston, in Lincolnshire, Mr. Cotton being their former minister, when he was gone the bishop desired to have organs set up in the church, but the parish was unwilling to yield; but, however, the bishop prevailed to be at the cost to set them up. But they being newly up (not playing very often with them), a violent storm came in at one window, and blew the organs to another window, and brake both organs and window down; and to this day the window is out of reputation, being boarded and not glazed.

The Puritans were naturally much aroused when Charles reissued a declaration of his father's, permitting, and even encouraging, popular amusements on Sunday when the afternoon service was over.

309. Charles I encourages dancing and other amusements on Sunday. (Declaration of Sports, 1633.)

Our dear father of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening prayers ended and, upon holydays; and he prudently considered that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labor hard all the week, should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits; and after

his return he further saw that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree; and did therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to all his loving subjects concerning lawful sports to be used at such times, which was printed and published by his royal commandment in the year 1618, in the tenor which hereafter followeth:

. . . Whereas we did justly in our progress through Lancashire rebuke some Puritans and precise people and took order that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of our good people for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon Sunday and other holydays, after the afternoon sermon or service, we now find that two sorts of people wherewith that country is much infected — we mean papists and Puritans — have maliciously traduced and calumniated those our just and honorable proceedings. . . . We have therefore thought good hereby to clear and make our pleasure to be manifested to all our good people in those parts. . . .

Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves or to leave the county, according to the laws of our kingdom and canons of our Church, and so to strike equally on both hands against the contemners of our authority and adversaries of our Church; and as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting up of Maypoles and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes

to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.

To the ardent Puritan the Church of England, as represented by Archbishop Laud, the tyrannical king, and the corrupt courts and judges, formed a single great conspiracy against civil and religious liberty. One of the innumerable pamphlets of the time describes a new treaty just concluded between the devil, the pope, and the Jesuits, on the one hand, and the English courts on the other.

310. Puritan pamphlet attacking the king's courts (1641). (Extract.)

Articles of agreement made, concluded, and done this 28th of September, in the year of grace 1641, and of the world 5662, by and between the high and mighty prince, Lucifer, king of Styx and Phlegethon, the holy and most superstitious primate of the Roman Church, the cardinals, bishops, Jesuits, priests, and seminaries, of the one party; and Judge Bribery, Lawyer Corruption, Attorney Contention, Solicitor Sedition, Justice Connivance, Jailor Oppression, and State Negligence, of the other party, in manner and form following:

It is this day mutually agreed, by and between the several parties above named, that there shall be a league, offensive and defensive, concluded and confirmed by both parties, at or before Holy-rood day next ensuing the date hereof.

Item: That whereas there hath been lately, by the subtle practices of some parliamentary reformists, a discord and dissension raised between the state ecclesiastic and the state of the inns of court, whereby there hath happened no small prejudice unto the ecclesiastic state; the like whereof is to be doubted may also fall upon the state of the inns of court, and so consequently upon the crown and dignity of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer; it is therefore mutually agreed that all former controversies and contentions between

both parties shall cease, and that all unity, peace, and concord shall be embraced, on either side, according to the expressions in the precedent article, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item: It is agreed that the said state of the inns of court and the state ecclesiastic aforesaid shall jointly and severally use the uttermost of their strength, power, and policy to resist and suppress all such proceedings of this present Parliament which shall any way tend to the reformation and suppression of oppression, extortion, bribery, contention, and tradition; and that they shall and will, with all their might, power, and policy, endeavor and strive to broach, advance, and maintain all the said several impieties again, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

Item: It is agreed by and between our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, and the whole state ecclesiastic, of the one part, and Judge Bribery, that forthwith, upon the dissolution of this present Parliament, he, the said Judge Bribery, is then again to put in practice the taking of bribes, passing of false judgment, and maintaining his false and corrupt sentences and decrees to be things sacred and infallible; oppressing the innocent by close imprisonment, and also favoring all Jesuits, priests, and seminaries, if any of them happen by the instruments of justice to be laid hold on; animating and instructing all attorneys, solicitors, and clerks, for and to the sowing of strife and contention amongst the people of the land, to the honor of our sovereign lord, King Lucifer, his crown and dignity.

On the other hand, there were not wanting satires on the dissenters, who stood out against the Book of Common Prayer and the service therein prescribed by the government. The pompous discussions among cobblers and tinkers of matters of which they had little understanding naturally provoked mirth and scorn, as is shown by the following lampoon.

311. Aminadab Blower rejects the Book of Common Prayer. (A satire of uncertain date.)

Some small and simple reasons, delivered in a hollow tree, in Waltham Forest, in a lecture, on the 33d of March last, by Aminadab Blower, a devout bellows mender of Pimlico; showing the causes, in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, should, or ought, except against and quite refuse the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer:

My dear beloved and zealous brethren and sisters here assembled in this holy congregation, I am to unfold, unravel, untwist, untie, unloose, and undo, to your uncapable understandings, some small reasons, the matter, the causes, the motives, the grounds, the principles, the maxims, the whys and the wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemn, despise, and are and ought to be withstanders and opposers of the service book, called by the hard name of Liturgy, or Common Prayer, which hath continued in the Church of England eighty-four years.

I have exactly examined and collected some notes and observations out of the learned Hebrew translated volumes of Rabbi Ananias, Rabbi Ahitophel, Rabbi Iscariot, Rabbi Simon Magus, Rabbi Demas, and Rabbi Alexander the coppersmith, and all nor any of their writings doth in any place so much as mention that book, or any such kind of service, to be used at all by them. I have farther taken pains in looking over some Chaldean, Persian, Egyptian, Arabian, and Arminian authors, of which I understood not one word; I also (with the like diligence and understanding) have viewed the Turkish Alchoran, and there I found not a syllable concerning either Liturgy, Common Prayer, or divine service. As for Greek authors, I must confess I understand them not, or negatively, for which reason I leave them as impertinent; and, touching the Latin writers, they are partial in this case, the tongue being Romanian and the idiom Babylonish, which seems to me an intricate confusion.

I, having carefully viewed the tomes and tenets of religion and books of all manner of hieroglyphics, writings, scrolls, tallies, scores, and characters, and finding nothing for the maintaining of that book or Liturgy, I looked into the

ecclesiastical history written by one Eusebius, and another fellow they call Socrates,[1] wherein I found many arguments and incitements to move men to such doctrine as is comprised and compiled in the Liturgy. After that I searched into the acts and monuments of this kingdom, written by old Fox,[2] and there I found that the composers of it were bishops and doctors, and great learned schoolmen of unfeigned integrity, of impregnable constancy, who, with invincible faith, suffered most glorious martyrdom by the papal tyranny, for the writing and maintaining that book, with the true Protestant religion contained in it.

Brethren, I must confess that I was somewhat puzzled in my mind at these things, and I could not be satisfied till I had consulted with some of our devout brothers. Our brother How, the cobbler, was the first I broke my mind to, and we advised to call or summon a synod to be held in my Lord Brook's stable, the Reverend Spencer, the stable groom, being the metropolitan there. At our meeting there was Greene the felt maker, Barebones the leather seller, Squire the tailor, with Hoare a weaver, and Davison a bone-lace maker of Messenden, and Paul Hickeson of Wickham, tailor, with some four or five baker's dozens of weavers, millers, tinkers, botchers, broom men, porters, of all trades, many of them bringing notes with them fitting for our purpose. . . .

IV. The Early Acts of the Long Parliament

The attempt of Charles I, Laud, and the Episcopal party to force a new religious service on the Scotch provoked a struggle which led to war. A clergyman, in a letter to Strafford, dated October 9, 1637, describes the reception accorded to the innovation by the Scotch.

[1] A church historian somewhat later than Eusebius.

[2] The author of the well-known *Book of Martyrs*. See above, p. 199.

312. Opposition of the Scotch to the church service introduced by Charles I.

I mentioned before an attempt to bring in our English church service into Scotland, which made a great hubbub there, and was repelled with much violence by the common people, though women appeared most in action, flinging their stools at the bishop, and renting his episcopal garments off him as he went forth of the church, others flinging stones at him in the streets, so that if the earl of Roxborough had not sought to quiet them, and received him into his coach, they had stoned him to death. A second attempt hath been made, of which fresh news is come thence to the court, wherein they have sped worse. Besides, some of the nobles and many of the gentry and better sort appear in it, who withstand it with greater violence than before, so that there is no hope that it will be effected.

By the war with the Scotch, Charles was placed in a sad financial plight, and was forced to summon Parliament again in order to raise money.[1] A Scotch army was in the north of England, remaining inactive only on condition that £850 a day was paid them for maintenance. This money Charles could not secure unless he yielded to the demands of Parliament for reform and the redress of grievances. It was thus that the important measures of the Long Parliament during the first months of its existence were accepted under compulsion by the king. The conviction that the king had not surrendered of his own free will produced a deep distrust of his motives and actions, which continued throughout the civil war and until his execution.

313. Summary of the work of the Long Parliament in 1641. (From *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson.*)

They [the Parliament] began by throwing down monopolies, and then impeached the earl of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemn trial and hot disputes on both

[1] The so-called "Short" Parliament was summoned in April, 1640, but in three weeks was dissolved by the irritated king. The sessions of the "Long" Parliament began in November, 1640.

sides, was at length attainted of treason; and the king, against his own mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to death. The archbishop of Canterbury was also made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffered; Wren, bishop of Norwich, was likewise committed to the Tower; several otner prelatical preachers were questioned for popish and treasonable doctrines; the Star Chamber, an unjust and arbitrary court, was taken away, and the High Commission Court; an act was procured for a triennial Parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their own consent. There were great necessities for money by reason of the two armies that were then maintained in England, and the people would give the king no money without some ease of grievances, which forced him, against his inclination, to grant those bills, with which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his own hands, and therefore privately encouraged plots that were in those times contrived against the Parliament.

314. Extracts from the Grand Remonstrance of the commons, presented to Charles I, December 1, 1641.

The Grand Remonstrance, which the commons drew up after spending a year in rectifying the abuses of Charles' personal government, contains a gloomy review of his reign and an account of the measures already passed by the Long Parliament with a view of doing away with the abuses. Some notion of this remarkable document may be derived from the following extracts.[1]

The commons in this present Parliament assembled having, with much earnestness and faithfulness of affection and zeal to the public good of this kingdom and his Majesty's honor and service, for the space of twelve months, wrestled with great dangers and fears, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders which

[1] The full text of the Grand Remonstrance would fill toward thirty pages of this volume. The whole document is given by Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 202-232.

had not only assaulted but even overwhelmed and extinguished the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom, the comfort and hopes of all his Majesty's good subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the foundation and strength of his own royal throne, do yet find an abounding malignity and opposition in those parties and factions who have been the cause of those evils and do still labor to cast aspersions upon that which hath been done, and to raise many difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment jealousies between the king and Parliament, that so they may deprive him and his people of the fruit of his own gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the public peace, safety, and happiness of this realm.

Objects of the present remonstrance.

For the preventing of those miserable effects, which such malicious endeavors may produce, we have thought good to declare the root and the growth of these mischievous designs; the maturity and ripeness to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament; the effectual means which have been used for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the progress which hath therein been made by his Majesty's goodness and the wisdom of the Parliament; the ways of obstruction and opposition by which that progress hath been interrupted; the courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for the accomplishing of our most dutiful and faithful intentions and endeavors of restoring and establishing the ancient honor, greatness, and security of this crown and nation.

The root of all this mischief we find to be a malignant and pernicious design of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, upon which the religion and justice of this kingdom are firmly established. The actors and promoters hereof have been:

The Jesuits.

1. The Jesuited papists, who hate the laws as the obstacles of that change and subversion of religion which they so much long for.

2. The bishops and the corrupt part of the clergy, who cherish formality and superstition as the natural effects

and more probable supports of their own ecclesiastical tyranny and usurpation.

3. Such councilors and courtiers as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign princes or states to the prejudice of his Majesty and the state at home. . . .

In the beginning of his Majesty's reign, the [Catholic] party began to revive and flourish again, having been somewhat damped by the breach with Spain in the last year of King James, and by his Majesty's marriage with France . . ., the papists of England, having ever been more addicted to Spain than France; yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of religion which they intended at home. . . . [The effects and evidence of their recovery have been:]

The Petition of Right rendered nugatory.

The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegal declaration to make it destructive to itself, to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the subject, and to that purpose printed with it, and the petition made of no use but to show the bold and presumptuous injustice of such ministers as durst break the laws and suppress the liberties of the kingdom, after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared. . . .

After the breach of the Parliament in the fourth [year] of his Majesty, injustice, oppression, and violence broke in upon us without any restraint or moderation, and yet the first project was the great sums exacted through the whole kingdom for the default of knighthood, which seemed to have some color and shadow of a law, yet if it be rightly examined by that obsolete law which was pretended for it, it will be found to be against all the rules of justice. . . .

Tonnage and poundage[1] hath been received without color or pretense of law; many other heavy impositions continued against law, and some so unreasonable that the sum of the charge exceeds the value of the goods. . . .

[1] For an explanation of these royal exactions on imports and exports, see Cheyney, *Short History of England*, p. 417.

Ship money

And although all this was taken upon pretense of guarding the seas, yet a new unheard-of tax of ship money was devised, and upon the same pretense, by both which there was charged upon the subject near £700,000 some years; and yet the merchants have been left so naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates that many great ships of value and thousands of his Majesty's subjects have been taken by them, and do still remain in miserable slavery. . . .

Monopolies in the king's interest.

The monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea coal, and in a manner of all things of most common and necessary use. . . .

Court of Star Chamber.

The Court of Star Chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures not only for the maintenance and improvement of monopolies and other unlawful taxes, but for divers other causes where there hath been no offense, or very small; whereby his Majesty's subjects have been oppressed by grievous fines, imprisonments, stigmatizings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, banishments; after so rigid a manner as hath not only deprived men of the society of their friends, exercise of their professions, comfort of books, use of paper or ink, but even violated that near union which God hath established between men and their wives, by forced and constrained separation, whereby they have been bereaved of the comfort and conversation one of another for many years together, without hope of relief, if God had not, by his overruling providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and counsel of those who were the authors and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses. . . .

Court of High Commission.

The High Commission grew to such excess of sharpness and severity as was not much less than the Romish Inquisition. . . . The bishops and their courts were as eager in the country; although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigor and extremity of punishment, yet were they no less grievous in respect of the generality and multiplicity of vexations, which, lighting upon the meaner sort of tradesmen and artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others that great numbers, to avoid

their miseries, departed out of the kingdom, some into New England and other parts of America, others into Holland. . . .

Objects of Charles' late ministers.

This faction was grown to that height and entireness of power that now they began to think of finishing their work, which consisted of these three parts:

I. The government must be set free from all restraint of laws concerning our persons and estates.

II. There must be a conjunction between papists and Protestants in doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies, only it must not yet be called popery.

III. The Puritans, under which name they include all that desire to preserve the laws and liberties of the kingdom and to maintain religion in the power of it, must be either rooted out of the kingdom with force or driven out with fear.

Scottish wars.

For the affecting of this it was thought necessary to reduce Scotland to such popish superstitions and innovations as might make them apt to join with England in that great change which was intended. Whereupon new canons and a new liturgy were pressed upon them, and when they refused to admit of them an army was raised to force them to it, towards which the clergy and the papists were very forward in their contribution.[1]

V. The Civil War

On August 22, 1642, the king raised his standard at Nottingham, and the settlement of the deadlock between him and Parliament was intrusted to the fortunes of war. The first stage of the contest lasted until the middle of 1646. During this period the famous battles of Edgehill (1642), Marston Moor (1644), and Naseby[2] (1645)

[1] The Parliament, after enumerating the abuses here given and many others, reviews at length the legislation of preceding months by which it has sought to establish the government on a firm and legal basis.

[2] A description of the battle of Naseby by a member of the Long Parliament is to be found in Kendall, *Source Book*, pp. 245 *sqq*.

were fought. A devout Puritan thus describes the marvelous manner in which the Lord aided the raw troops in their fight against the king's army at Edgehill.

315. A Puritan's account of the battle of Edgehill. (From Nehemiah Wallington.)

1642. October the 23d, being the Lord's day in the forenoon, both the armies met in the midway between Banbury and Stratford-upon-Avon. And they had a very hot skirmish, their ordnance playing very hot from twelve o'clock till three in the afternoon, and made a great slaughter, and then the main forces joined battle, both horse and foot, and had a furious skirmish on both sides, which continued for all that day.

But that which I would take notice of is God's great mercy and providence, which was seen to his poor despised children, that although the enemy came traitorously and suddenly upon them, and unexpectedly, and four of our regiments falling from us, and our soldiers being a company of despised, inexperienced youths, which never used to lie in the fields on the cold ground before the enemy, they being strong, old, experienced soldiers. But herein we see God's great mercy, for all that to give us the victory; for, as I hear, the slaughter was in all five thousand five hundred and seventeen; but ten of the enemy's side were slain to one of ours. And observe God's wonderful works, for those that were slain of our side were mostly of them that ran away; but those that stood most valiantly to it, they were most preserved; so that you may see the Lord stands for them that stand for him.

How God guided the bullets.

If I could but relate how admirably the hand of Providence ordered our artillery and bullets for the destruction of the enemy, when a piece of ordnance was shot off, what a lane was made in their army! Oh, how God did guide the bullets [of the enemy also] (as I wrote afore at Southam), that some fell down before them, some grazed along, some bullets went over their heads, and some one side of them! Oh, how seldom or never almost were they hurt that stood valiant to it, by their bullets! You would stand and wonder. . . .

God's mercy toward them in the Parliament's army that were sickly.

Again, consider one wonderful work of our God more; which is, that many of our youths that went forth were weakly and sickly, some with the king's evil, some with agues, and some with the toothache, which their parents and friends were in great care and grief for; yet, when they have lain days and nights in the wet and cold fields, which one would think should make a well body sick, much more to increase their misery and pain that were ill, yet they have testified that their pain had left them, and [they were] never better in all their lives.

This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in my eyes.

I did forget to write this remarkable passage, how the king's army shot off thirty pieces of ordnance and killed not passing four of our men; and the first time we shot we made a lane among them, cutting off two of their colors.

A pamphleteer of the time sees only the horrors and desolation of the civil strife.

316. The general desolation caused by the civil war. (From a pamphlet of the time.)

The war went on with horrid rage in many places at one time; and the fire, when once kindled, cast forth, through every corner of the land, not only sparks but devouring flames; insomuch that the kingdom of England was divided into more seats of war than counties; nor has she more fields than skirmishes, nor cities than sieges; and almost all the palaces of lords, and other great houses, were turned everywhere into garrisons of war. They fought at once by sea and land; and through all England (who could but lament the miseries of his country!) sad spectacles were seen of plundering and firing villages; and the fields, otherwise waste and desolate, were rich only and terribly glorious in camps and armies.

VI. The Execution of Charles I (1649)

The death warrant of Charles I, issued by "the High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, king of England," reads as follows:

317. Death warrant of Charles I (January 29, 1649.)

Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is, and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body; of which sentence, execution yet remaineth to be done; these [presents] are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers, and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

To Colonel Francis Hacker, Colonel Huncks, and Lieutenant Colonel Phayre, and to every of them.

Given under our hands and seals.

John Bradshaw.
Thomas Grey.
Oliver Cromwell.
Etc., etc.

A relation of the king's last words to his daughter, Lady Elizabeth, from her own hand[1]:

318. Charles' parting words to his daughter Elizabeth.

He told me he was glad I had come; and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me which he had not to another, or leave in writing, because he feared their cruelty was such as that they would not have permitted him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment myself for him, for that would be a glorious death that he should die, it being for the laws and liberties of this land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He bid me read Bishop Andrews' sermons, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Politie*, and Bishop Laud's book

[1] In regard to the famous *Eikon Basilike*, purporting to have been written by Charles during his last days, see below, p. 267.

against Fisher, which would ground me against popery. He told me he had forgiven all his enemies, and hoped God would forgive them also; and commanded us, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last. Withal he commanded me and my brother to be obedient to her, and bid me send his blessing to the rest of my brothers and sisters, with commendation to all his friends. So after he had given me his blessing, I took my leave.

Further, he commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them, for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power; and he feared also to their own souls; and desired me not to grieve for him, for he should die a martyr; and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his throne upon his son, and that we should all be happier than we could have expected to have been if he had lived; with many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

Charles I closed a brief address which he made at the last moment as follows:

319. An account of the execution of Charles I.

[As for the people,] truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whomsoever; but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consist in having of government, those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not for having share in government, sirs; that is nothing pertaining to them; a subject and a sovereign are clear different things. And therefore until they do that, I mean that you do put the people in that liberty, as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves. Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way, for to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the people. . . .

And to the executioner he said, "I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands — "

Then he called to the bishop for his cap, and having put it on, asked the executioner, "Does my hair trouble you?" who desired him to put it all under his cap; which, as he was doing by the help of the bishop and the executioner, he turned to the bishop, and said, "I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side."

The bishop said, "There is but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, yet is a very short one. You may consider it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find to your great joy the prize you hasten to, a crown of glory."

The king adjoins, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world."

The bishop. "You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, — a good exchange."

Then the king asked the executioner, "Is my hair well?"

And taking off his cloak and George,[1] he delivered his George to the bishop, . . .

Then putting off his doublet and being in his waistcoat, he put on his cloak again, and looking upon the block, said to the executioner, "You must set it fast."

The executioner. "It is fast, sir."

King. "It might have been a little higher."

Executioner. "It can be no higher, sir."

King. "When I put out my hands this way, then — "

Then having said a few words to himself, as he stood, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down he laid his neck upon the block; and the executioner, again putting his hair under his cap, his Majesty, thinking he had been going to strike, bade him, "Stay for the sign."

Executioner. "Yes, I will, an it please your Majesty."

[1] The jeweled pendant of the Order of the Garter, bearing a figure of St. George.

After a very short pause, his Majesty stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body; which, being held up and showed to the people, was with his body put into a coffin covered with black velvet and carried into his lodging.

His blood was taken up by divers persons for different ends: by some as trophies of their villainy; by others as relics of a martyr; and in some hath had the same effect, by the blessing of God, which was often found in his sacred touch when living.

VII. The Commonwealth and Cromwell

March 17, 1649, Parliament abolished the office of king.

320. Act abolishing the office of king in England and Ireland (March 17, 1649).

Whereas Charles Stuart, late king of England, Ireland, and the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, hath, by authority derived from Parliament, been and is hereby declared to be justly condemned, adjudged to die, and put to death, for many treasons, murders, and other heinous offenses committed by him, by which judgment he stood, and is hereby declared to be, attainted of high treason, whereby his issue and posterity, and all others pretending title under him, are become incapable of the said crowns or of being king or queen of the said kingdom or dominions, or either or any of them; be it therefore enacted and ordained, and it is enacted, ordained, and declared, by this present Parliament and by the authority thereof, that all the people of England and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, of what degree or condition soever, are discharged of all fealty, homage, and allegiance which is or shall be pretended to be due unto any of the issue and posterity of the said late king, or any claiming under him, and that Charles Stuart, eldest son, and James, called duke of York, second son, and all other the issue and posterity of him the said late king, and all and every person and persons pretending title from, by,

or under him, are and be disabled to hold or enjoy the said crown of England and Ireland. . . .

And whereas it is and hath been found by experience that the office of a king in this nation and Ireland, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and that for the most part use hath been made of the regal power and prerogative to oppress and impoverish and enslave the subject; and that usually and naturally any one person in such power makes it his interest to encroach upon the just freedom and liberty of the people, and to promote the setting up of their own will and power above the laws, that so they might enslave these kingdoms to their own lust; be it therefore enacted and ordained by this present Parliament, and by authority of the same, that the office of a king in this nation shall not henceforth reside in, or be exercised by, any one single person; and that no one person whatsoever shall or may have or hold the office, style, dignity, power, or authority of king of the said kingdoms and dominions.[1] . . .

By the spring of 1653 the Long Parliament, which had been in session nearly thirteen years, was reduced to a mere "rump," as its enemies called it. There were only a hundred or so members left. Cromwell was convinced that the members were corrupt and that they meant to keep the power in their hands in spite of their

[1] The existing Long Parliament agrees in the following paragraphs to dissolve itself as soon as it can safely do so. The supreme authority is declared to reside in "this [Parliament] and the successive representatives of the people of this nation, and in them only." Two days later the House of Lords was abolished. "The commons of England assembled in Parliament, finding by too long experience that the House of Lords is useless and dangerous to the people of England to be continued, have thought fit to ordain and enact, and be it ordained and enacted by this present Parliament and by the authority of the same, that from henceforth the House of Lords in Parliament shall be and is hereby wholly abolished and taken away. . . ."

talk of dissolving themselves. He most reluctantly decided that it was his duty to scatter them. The famous scene here described is taken from the journal kept by Sidney, whose son Algernon was one of the most distinguished members of the "rump."

321. How Cromwell broke up the remnants of the Long Parliament

Wednesday, 20th April. The Parliament sitting as usual, and being on debate upon the bill[1] with amendments, which it was thought would have been passed that day, the Lord General Cromwell came into the House, clad in plain black clothes, with gray stockings, and sat down, as he used to do, in an ordinary place. After a while he rose up, put off his hat, and spake; at first and for a good while he spake to the commendation of the Parliament, for their pains and care of the public good; but afterwards he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults. Then he said, "Perhaps you think this is not parliamentary language; I confess it is not, neither are you to expect any such from me."

Then he put on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floor in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly, upon some persons, as Sir R. Whitlock, one of the Commissioners for the Great Seal; Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known that he meant them.

After this he said to Colonel Harrison (who was a member of the House), "Call them in." Then Harrison went out, and presently brought in Lieutenant-Colonel Wortley (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot), with five or six files of musketeers, about twenty or thirty with their muskets. Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, "Fetch him down." Harrison went to the Speaker and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sat still and said nothing. "Take him

[1] To dissolve itself.

down," said the General; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down.

It happened that day that Algernon Sidney sat next to the Speaker on the right hand; the General said to Harrison, "Put him out." Harrison spake to Sidney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The General said again, "Put him out." Then Harrison and Wortley put their hands upon Sidney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door.

Then the General went to the table where the mace[1] lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and said, "Take away these baubles." So the soldiers took away the mace, and all the House went out; and at the going out, they say, the General said to young Henry Vane, calling him by his name, that he might have prevented this extraordinary course, but he was a juggler and had not so much as common honesty. All being gone out, the door of the House was locked, and the key with the mace was carried away, as I heard, by Colonel Otley.[2]

A distinguished enemy of Cromwell's, Clarendon, has given a remarkable picture of the Protector in his *History of the Rebellion.*

322. Clarendon's estimate of Cromwell.

He was one of those men *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt nisi ut simul laudent;* for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage and industry and judgment. And he must have had a wonderful

[1] The mace still lies on the table when the House of Commons is sitting.

[2] Another account of this scene, written by an ardent enemy of Cromwell's, may be found in Kendall's *Source Book of English History*, pp. 251 *sqq.* It corresponds essentially with that given above. It closes as follows: "Then Cromwell applied himself to the members of the House, who were in number between eighty and one hundred, and said to them, "It 's you that have forced me to this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put upon me the doing of this work."

understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in the applying them, who from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family), without interest of estate, alliance, or friendships, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction, whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. . . . Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted anything, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the standers-by; yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be renew[ed], as if he had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency through the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested Protector by the humble Petition and Advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor to them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority, but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield to it. . . .

In all other matters which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, and rarely interposed between party and party. And as he

proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards those who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him and wished his ruin; was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. And as they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there need only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy,[1] which gave occasion to the pope and the neighbour princes of Italy to call and solicit for their extirpation, which their prince positively resolved upon, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy (a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce), and so engaged the Cardinal [Mazarin], and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vieca, and that the sound of his canon should be heard in Rome), that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed and newly forfeited.

A pamphlet of the time shows how a great part of the English must have felt in 1659 in regard to the expediency of calling back Charles II.

[1] Clarendon appears to be somewhat confused at this point. He evidently refers to the massacre of the Vaudois by the duke of Savoy, which aroused Protestant Europe in 1655.

323. Parties in England in 1659, and expediency of calling in Charles II. (From a pamphlet of the time.)

If we take a view of the several pretensions, carried on in the nation apart, we shall find the most considerable to be the Roman Catholic, the Royalist, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist, the Army, the Protectorian, and that of the Parliament.

1. 'Tis the Roman Catholic's aim not only to abrogate the penal laws, and become capable of all employments in the Commonwealth, but to introduce his religion, to restore the rights of the Church, and utterly eradicate all that he esteems heresy.

2. 'Tis the Royalist's desire to bring in the king as a conqueror, to recover their losses in the late war, be rendered capable of civil employments, and have the former government of the Church.

3. 'Tis the Presbyterian's desire to set up his discipline, to have the covenant reënforced, and only such as take it to be employed in church or state; to be indemnified in reference to what they have done, and secured of what they possess.

4. 'Tis the wish of the baptized churches that there might be no ecclesiastical government of any kind, nor ministerial function, or provision for it; and that only persons so minded should be capable of employment; likewise to be indemnified for what they have done.

5. 'Tis the aim of the Army to govern the nation, to keep themselves from being disbanded, or engaged in war, to secure their pay, and to be indemnified for all past action.

6. 'Tis the desire of the family of the late Protector to establish the heir of the house, that they may rule him, and he the nation, and so both preserve and advance themselves.

'Tis the wish of the present Parliament (as far as they have one common design) to continue themselves in absolute power by the specious name of a popular government; to new-model and divide, and, at last, take down, the Army; and, finally, under the pretences of a committee of Parliament, or council of state, set up an oligarchy resembling that of the Thirty Tyrants in Athens.

Lastly, 't is the general interest of the nation to establish the ancient fundamental laws, upon which every one's propriety and liberty are built, to settle religion, to procure a general indemnity for all actions past, to revive their languishing and almost dead trade, gain an alliance with our neighbour states; to put the government in such hands as, besides present force, can plead a legal title to it; into the hands of such with whose private interest that of the public not only consists, but in which 't is necessarily involved, which likewise does least contradict the aims of particular parties; lastly, the hands of such whose counsel is fit to direct in matters of deliberation, and courage fit to vindicate the injuries of the nation.

From which premises we may conclude that the pretensions of no party now on foot in the nation are attainable; or, if attained, are consistent with the good of other parties, or of the nation; or, in fine, with their own; and from hence likewise one would be apt to conclude that the ruin of the public is inevitable; there being no door of hope left open to receive, no method visible to unite, such distant and incompatible ends.

But, notwithstanding all this, 't is not impossible — no, nor hard — to find an expedient that shall evacuate all these difficulties; not only establish the general concernment, but (exorbitant passion only retrenched) satisfy the real interest of every party — nay, single person — in the nation.

Now to the cheerful reception of such an overture, I suppose there is no need to persuade, nor even to admonish, that words and names, however rendered odious, ought not to frighten us from our certain benefit and dearest interest. All that is demanded here is that if, upon serious consideration, the proposal be found reasonable, men would be so kind to themselves as to receive it. The assertion I doubt not to make most plain and evident, and therefore shall as plainly pronounce it. 'T is this: the calling in the king is the certain and only means for the preservation of the kingdom, and also of the rights and interests of all single persons in it.

VIII. The Restoration of the Stuarts: Charles II

It would be difficult to imagine a more satisfactory description than that given of Charles II at the time of his accession by the distinguished historian of the period, Burnet.

324. A picture of Charles II. (By Gilbert Burnet, in his *History of my own Time.*)

The king was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been supposed, past the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleasure. He had a very good understanding: he knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found out how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises, in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them but to get rid of importunity and to silence all further pressing upon him.

He seemed to have no sense of religion; both at prayers and sacrament, he, as it were, took care to satisfy people that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed; so that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, as no doubt it was; but he was sure not to increase that by any the least appearance of devotion. He said once to myself, he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his popery to the last; but when he talked freely he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of inquiring into matters, for from their inquiring into matters of religion they carried the humor further to inquire into matters of state. He said often he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicit; about which I had once much discourse with him.

He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was the

being easy and the making everything easy to him. He had made such observations on the French government that he thought a king who might be checked, or have his ministers called into account by a Parliament, was but a king in name. He had a great compass of knowledge, though he was never capable of great application or study. He understood the mechanics and physic, and was a good chemist, and much set on several preparations of mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well; but above all, he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a prince. His apprehension was quick and his memory good, and he was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace, but they came in his way too often.

He had a very ill opinion both of men and women, and did not think there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humor or vanity. He thought that nobody served him out of love; and so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated business and could not be easily brought to mind any; but when it was necessary, and he was set to it, he would stay as long as his ministers had work for him. The ruin of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure.

The king's subjects, according to Burnet, also delivered themselves up to wild rejoicing and indulgence.

324a. How England went mad over the return of Charles II. (From Burnet.)

With the restoration of the king, a spirit of extravagant joy being spread over the nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety: all ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which overran the three kingdoms to such a degree that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the color of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders and much riot everywhere; and the pretenses to religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort and of the more honest but no less pernicious

enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter, to the profane mockers at all true piety.[1]

Two remarkable diaries of this period have been preserved, — one by Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), a very active government official under Charles II; the other by John Evelyn (1620–1706), a gentleman fond of science, letters, and gardening. These diaries are the most delightful sources for the period they cover. The following entries give a picture of the barbarous habits of the time.

325. Savage vengeance taken upon the leaders of the late rebellion. (From *Pepys' Diary.*)

October 13, 1660. I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison[2] hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now judged him; and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the king beheaded at Whitehall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the king at Charing Cross.

October 15, 1660. This morning Mr. Carew was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross; but his quarters, by a great favor, are not to be hanged up.

326. Execution of the regicides. (From *Evelyn's Diary.*)

October 17, 1660. Scot, Scroope, Cook, and Jones suffered for the reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural Prince, and in the presence of the King, his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters mangled and cutt and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. O the miraculous providence of God!

[1] This account of Burnet's is substantiated by the orders issued against drunkenness and rioting throughout the realm.

[2] See above, pp. 247 *sq.*

January 30, 1661. This day (O the stupendious and inscrutable judgments of God!) were the carcasses of those arch-rebells Cromwell, Bradshaw, the Judge who condemned his Majestie, and Ireton, sonn-in-law to ye Usurper, dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburne, and hanged on the gallows from 9 in the morning till 6 at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deepe pitt; thousands of people who had seene them in all their pride being spectators.

May 22, 1661. The Scotch Covenant was burnt by the common hangman in divers places in London. O prodigious change!

IX. Religious Questions under Charles II

Charles II and Parliament had to face the old difficulty of steering a middle course between the various Protestant sects, on the one hand, — Presbyterians, Independents, etc., who were supposed to be disaffected toward the government as well as toward the Established Church, — and, on the other hand, the Catholics, whom Parliament and the nation at large abhorred, although the king was secretly favorable to them. Following the policy of Elizabeth, the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662.

327. Act of Uniformity (1662). (Extracts.)

Whereas, in the first year of the late Queen Elizabeth, there was one uniform order of common service and prayer, and the administration of the sacraments, rites, and ceremonies in the Church of England (agreeable to the word of God and usage of the primitive Church), compiled by the reverend bishops and clergy, set forth in one book, entitled The Book of Common Prayer . . . and enjoined to be used by act of Parliament holden in the said first year of the said late queen, entitled "An act for the uniformity of

common prayer and service in the Church and administration of the sacraments," very comfortable to all good people desirous to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estate of this realm; upon the which the mercy, favor, and blessing of Almighty God is in no wise so readily and plentifully poured as by common prayers, due using of the sacraments, and often preaching of the gospel, with devotion of the hearers; and yet, this notwithstanding, a great number of people in divers parts of this realm, following their own sensuality, and living without knowledge and due fear of God, do willfully and schismatically abstain and refuse to come to their parish churches, and other public places where common prayer, administration of the sacraments, and preaching of the word of God is used upon the Sundays and other days ordained and appointed to be kept and observed as holydays; and whereas, by the great and scandalous neglect of ministers in using the said order or liturgy so set forth and enjoined as aforesaid, great mischiefs and inconveniences, during the times of the late unhappy troubles, have arisen and grown, and many people have been led into factions and schisms, to the great decay and scandal of the reformed religion of the Church of England, and to the hazard of many souls, . . . be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate, or parish church or chapel, or other place of public worship, shall be bound to say and use the morning prayer, evening prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present act and entitled The Book of Common Prayer.[1] . . .

Perversity of the dissenters.

[1] The act provides in the succeeding clauses that all clergymen who refuse to declare their "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled "The Book of Common Prayer" shall be deprived of their benefices.

Next, Parliament, in 1664, declared all religious meetings, except those in accordance with the rules of the Church of England, to be illegal. Any meeting for religious worship at which five were present besides the family was declared a "conventicle," and every person above sixteen there present was to lie three months in prison or pay £5 for the first offense; six months or £20 fine for the second offense; for the third offense he was to be banished to any plantation, except New England or Virginia, or pay £100. Burnet thus speaks of the repassing of this act in 1670:

328. Harsh act against dissenters. (From Burnet.)

When [after the great London fire of 1666] the city was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the churches, which had lain in ashes some years; and in that time conventicles abounded in all parts of the city. It was thought hard to hinder men from worshiping God any way as they could, when there were no churches, nor ministers to look after them. But now they began to raise churches of boards, till the public allowance should be raised towards the building of churches. These they called tabernacles, and they fitted them up with pews and galleries as churches. So now an act was proposed reviving the former act against conventicles. . . . This act was executed in the city very severely in Starling's mayoralty, and put things in such disorder that many of the trading men of the city began to talk of removing with their stock over to Holland; but the king ordered a stop be put to further severities.

Bold opposition of the Quakers.

Many of the sects either discontinued their meetings or held them very secretly, with small numbers, and not in the hours of public worship; yet informers were encouraged and were everywhere at work. The behavior of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place and at the same hour as before; and when they were seized, none of them would go out of the way: they went all together to

prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay the fines set on them, nor so much as the jail fees, calling these wages of unrighteousness. And as soon as they were let out they went to their meeting-houses again; and when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings on the street, before the doors of those houses. They said that they would not disown or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God; but, in imitation of Daniel, they would do it the more publicly because they were forbidden doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness. But by it they carried their point, for the government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness and so began with letting them alone.

X. James II and the Revolution of 1688

Two writers of the time make clear the impression which James II's attempt to restore the Roman Catholic faith in England made upon the Protestants.

329. James II, like the French king, seems about to restore the Roman Catholic Church. (From Reresby's *Mémoires.*)

November 20, 1685. The popish party at this time behaved themselves with an insolence which did them a prejudice. The king of France continued to practice all the cruelties imaginable towards the Protestants in France to make them turn papists, commanding that all extremities should be used but death, — as seizing their lands, razing their temples and houses, taking all their goods, putting them into prisons, quartering dragoons with them to eat up their estates and to watch them that they should not sleep till they changed their religion. Many of them fled into all parts as they could escape, poor and naked; for their estates were stopped and themselves condemned to the gallows if they were taken attempting to fly.

March 1, 1686. Though it could not be said that there was as yet any remarkable invasion upon the rights of the Church of England, yet the king gave all the encouragement he could to the increase of his own, by putting more papists

into office, but especially in Ireland; by causing or allowing popish books to be printed and sold and cried publicly; by publishing some popish papers found in the late king's closet and the declaration of his dying a papist and the manner of it; . . . by sending my Lord Castlemain upon a solemn embassy to the pope, and many other such things; which made all men expect that more would follow of a greater concern.

330. Roman Catholic services at James II's court. (From Evelyn's Diary.)

December 29, 1686. I went to hear the musiq of the Italians in the New Chapel, now first open'd publickly at Whitehall for the Popish service. . . . The throne where the King and Queene sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who satte in a chair with arms pontificaly, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crosier which was of silver was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing with singing. I could not have believed I should ever have seene such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had pleas'd God to enlighten this Nation; but owr greate sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, which I hope He will in mercy and his good time restore to its purity.

This chapter on the long struggle between the Stuarts and the English nation as represented in the Parliament may appropriately close with some extracts from the celebrated Declaration of Right presented to William and Mary in February, 1689.[1]

[1] This document is commonly known as "The Bill of Rights," for it was under that title that it was reënacted in December of the same year, 1689, and is included in the statutes of the realm in the form here given.

331. Extracts from the Declaration of Right (February, 1689).

Whereas the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did upon the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord 1688,[1] present unto their Majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing made by the said lords and commons in the words following, viz.:

Charges against James II.

Whereas the late King James II, by the assistance of diverse evil counselors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the same assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court, called the "Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes."

4. By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretense of prerogative, for other time and in other manner than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

[1] February, 1688, would, according to our habit of beginning the year on January 1, fall in 1689. Until 1751, when Protestant England tardily accepted the salutary reform of the calendar first recommended in 1582 by Gregory XIII, the year was regarded in that country as beginning March 25.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench, for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by diverse other arbitrary and illegal courses.

. . . . . .

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late King James II having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal and divers principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants; and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs [for choosing representatives to a Parliament which might vindicate and assert the ancient rights and liberties of the nation].[1] . . .

Having therefore an entire confidence that his said Highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them [Parliament] from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled at Westminster, do resolve that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be and

[1] Here follows a statement of the rights of the people and their representatives as against the usurpations of James II, enumerated at the opening of the document.

be declared king and queen of England, France,[1] and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives and the life of the survivor of them; . . . and that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law. . . .

I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preëminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.

Upon which their said Majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said lords and commons contained in the said declaration. . . .

Exclusion of Catholics from the throne.

And whereas, it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince or by any king or queen marrying a papist, the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do further pray that it may be enacted that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the see or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm. . . .

[1] The English kings continued to include their long-lost French possessions in the list of their domains.

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The Works of Sir William Temple, 4 vols., 1757. Useful for English and foreign affairs during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Valuable material is to be found in the works of James I and Charles I.[1] The advanced student should also be familiar with the extensive publications of the Camden Society, the Fairfax, Marchmont, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, and Clarendon papers and correspondence, Carte's collection of letters, Maseres' Select Tracts, Howell's *State Trials*, and the *Harleian Miscellany*.

1 The *Eikon Basilike*, a small book which appeared shortly after the death of Charles I and purported to be from his pen, was really written by Dr. Gauden. It was accepted as authentic and ran through innumerable editions. Pretending to reveal the profound spiritual nature of the king, it did much to establish the conception of Charles I as a martyr to Puritan brutality. See GARDINER, *History of the Great Civil War*, Vol. IV, p. 325.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ASCENDENCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

I. Richelieu and his Policy of strengthening the Kingship

Richelieu was evidently very desirous to leave to posterity a full account of his deeds and a complete justification of his policy. He undertook to collect material for an elaborate history of the reign of Louis XIII, but fearing that his frail constitution would never permit him to complete the work, he conceived it to be his duty to leave some statement, at least of the most needed reforms, as a guide for the king when his minister should be dead. In this way Richelieu's famous "Political Testament" originated. It opens as follows:

332. Richelieu's account of the condition of France when he became minister in 1624.

At the time when your Majesty resolved to admit me both to your council and to an important place in your confidence for the direction of your affairs, I may say that the Huguenots shared the state with you; that the nobles conducted themselves as if they were not your subjects, and the most powerful governors of the provinces as if they were sovereign in their offices.

I may say that the bad example of all of these was so injurious to this realm that even the best regulated *parlements*[1] were affected by it, and endeavored, in certain cases, to diminish your royal authority as far as they were able in order to stretch their own powers beyond the limits of reason.

I may say that every one measured his own merit by his audacity; that in place of estimating the benefits which they

[1] The higher law courts.

received from your Majesty at their proper worth, all valued them only in so far as they satisfied the extravagant demands of their imagination; that the most arrogant were held to be the wisest, and found themselves the most prosperous.

I may also say that the foreign alliances were unfortunate, individual interests being preferred to those of the public; in a word, the dignity of the royal majesty was so disparaged, and so different from what it should be, owing to the malfeasance of those who conducted your affairs, that it was almost impossible to perceive its existence.

It was impossible, without losing all, to tolerate longer the conduct of those to whom your Majesty had intrusted the helm of state; and, on the other hand, everything could not be changed at once without violating the laws of prudence, which do not permit the abrupt passing from one extreme to another.

The sad state of your affairs seemed to force you to hasty decisions, without permitting a choice of time or of means; and yet it was necessary to make a choice of both, in order to profit by the change which necessity demanded from your prudence.

Thoughtful observers did not think that it would be possible to escape all the rocks in so tempestuous a period; the court was full of people who censured the temerity of those who wished to undertake a reform; all well knew that princes are quick to impute to those who are near them the bad outcome of the undertakings upon which they have been well advised; few people consequently expected good results from the change which it was announced that I wished to make, and many believed my fall assured even before your Majesty had elevated me.

Notwithstanding these difficulties which I represented to your Majesty, knowing how much kings may do when they make good use of their power, I ventured to promise you, with confidence, that you would soon get control of your state, and that in a short time your prudence, your courage, and the benediction of God would give a new aspect to the realm.

I promised your Majesty to employ all my industry and all the authority which it should please you to give me to ruin the Huguenot party, to abase the pride of the nobles, to bring back all your subjects to their duty, and to elevate your name among foreign nations to the point where it belongs.

Two years after Richelieu became minister the king issued an edict ordering the destruction of all the fortresses in the interior of the kingdom, in which the unruly nobles had been wont to defy the royal power.

333. Edict of 1626 ordering the demolition of the feudal castles in France.

Whereas formerly the assemblies of the estates of this realm and those of notable persons chosen to give advice to ourselves, and to the late king, our very honorable lord and father, on important affairs of this realm, and likewise the assembly of the estates of the province of Brittany held by us in the year 1614, have repeatedly requested and very humbly supplicated our said lord and father and ourselves to cause the demolition of many strongholds in divers places of this realm, which, being neither on hostile frontiers nor in important passes or places, only serve to augment our expenses by the maintenance of useless garrisons, and also serve as retreats for divers persons who on the least provocation disturb the provinces where they are located; . . .

For these reasons, we announce, declare, ordain, and will that all the strongholds, either towns or castles, which are in the interior of our realm or provinces of the same, not situated in places of importance either for frontier defense or other considerations of weight, shall be razed and demolished; even ancient walls shall be destroyed so far as it shall be deemed necessary for the well-being and repose of our subjects and the security of this state, so that our said subjects henceforth need not fear that the said places will cause them any inconvenience, and so that we shall be freed from the expense of supporting garrisons in them.

Richelieu was much interested in the encouragement of science, art, and literature. The French Academy,

which he induced the king to establish by the following order, had begun with the informal conference of a few men of letters, who met at one another's houses.

334. Letters patent establishing the French Academy in 1635.

When God called us to the headship of the state we cherished the purpose not only of putting an end to the disorders caused by the civil wars which had so long distracted the realm, but we also aimed to adorn the state with all the ornaments appropriate to the oldest and most illustrious of existing monarchies. Although we have labored without intermission to realize this purpose, it has been impossible hitherto fully to accomplish it. . . . [But now] the confusion has at last given way to good order, which we have reëstablished by the best of all means, namely, by reviving commerce, enforcing military discipline in our armies, adjusting the taxes, and checking luxury. Every one is aware of the part that our very dear and beloved cousin,[1] the cardinal, duke of Richelieu, has had in the accomplishment of all these things.

Consequently when we communicated our intention to him, he represented to us that one of the most glorious proofs of the happiness of a realm is that the sciences and arts flourish within it, and that letters as well as arms are held in esteem, since these constitute one of the chief ornaments of a powerful state; that, after so many memorable exploits, we had now only to add the agreeable to the essential, and to adorn the useful. He believed that we could not do better than to commence with the most noble of all arts, namely, eloquence. The French language, which has suffered much hitherto from neglect on the part of those who might have rendered it the most perfect of modern tongues, is now more capable than ever of taking its high place, owing to the great number of persons who possess a special knowledge of the advantages which it enjoys and who can augment these advantages. The cardinal informed us that, with a view of establishing fixed rules for the language,

Importance of cultivating the French language.

[1] A term of respect generally reserved by the French kings for their fellow monarchs and royal relatives.

he had arranged meetings of scholars whose decisions in these matters had met with his hearty approval, and that in order to put these decisions into execution and render the French language not only elegant but capable of treating all the arts and sciences, it would only be necessary to perpetuate these gatherings. This could be done with great advantage should it please us to sanction them, to permit rules and regulations to be drawn up for the order of procedure to be observed, and to reward those who compose the association by some honorable marks of our favor.

For these reasons, and in view of the advantages which our subjects may derive from the said meetings, acceding to the desires of our said cousin:

We do permit, by our special favor, power, and royal authority, and do authorize and approve by these presents, signed by our hand, the said assemblies and conferences. We will that they continue hereafter in our good city of Paris, under the name of the *French Academy;* that our said cousin shall be designated as its head and protector; that the number of members be limited to forty persons. . . .

II. Kings "by the Grace of God"

It is especially difficult with our modern democratic notions to understand the views and sentiments of those who have regarded obedience to the king, however perverse and licentious he might be, as a sacred obligation. Nowhere is the divine nature of the kingly power set forth with more eloquence and ardor than in the work of the distinguished prelate, orator, and theologian, Bossuet, whom Louis XIV chose as the preceptor of his son, the dauphin (1670–1681). His treatise on *Politics drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture* was prepared with a view of giving the heir to the French throne a proper idea both of his lofty position and of his heavy responsibilities. No one can read this work without

being profoundly impressed with the irresistible appeal which kingship, as Bossuet represents it, must make to a mind that looked to the Scriptures for its theories of government.

The essential characteristics of royalty, Bossuet explains, are, first, that it is sacred; second, paternal; third, absolute; and fourth, subject to reason. He then continues as follows:

335. Extracts from Bossuet's work on kingship.

We have already seen that all power is of God.[1] The ruler, adds St. Paul, "is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."[2] Rulers then act as the ministers of God and as his lieutenants on earth. It is through them that God exercises his empire. Think ye "to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David"?[3] Consequently, as we have seen, the royal throne is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. The Lord "hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel."[4] And again, "Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord."[5]

Kingship a divine institution

Moreover, that no one may assume that the Israelites were peculiar in having kings over them who were established by God, note what is said in Ecclesiasticus: "God has given to every people its ruler, and Israel is manifestly reserved to him."[6] He therefore governs all peoples and gives them their kings, although he governed Israel in a more intimate and obvious manner.

[1] Referring to St. Paul's words (Romans xiii. 1, 2): "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

[2] See Rom. xiii. 1–7.

[3] 2 Chron. xiii. 8.

[4] 1 Chron. xxviii. 5.

[5] 1 Chron. xxix. 23.

[6] Ecclesiasticus xvii. 14, 15.

It appears from all this that the person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. God has the kings anointed by his prophets with the holy unction in like manner as he has bishops and altars anointed. But even without the external application in thus being anointed, they are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of his purposes. Accordingly God calls Cyrus his anointed. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him."[1] . . . Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . .

There is something religious in the respect accorded to a prince. The service of God and the respect for kings are bound together. St. Peter unites these two duties when he says, "Fear God. Honour the king."[2] . . .

Warning to kings to exercise their power in the fear of the Lord.

But kings, although their power comes from on high, as has been said, should not regard themselves as masters of that power to use it at their pleasure; . . . they must employ it with fear and self-restraint, as a thing coming from God and of which God will demand an account. "Hear, O kings, and take heed, understand, judges of the earth, lend your ears, ye who hold the peoples under your sway, and delight to see the multitude that surround you. It is God who gives you the power. Your strength comes from the Most High, who will question your works and penetrate the depths of your thoughts, for, being ministers of his kingdom, ye have not given righteous judgments nor have ye walked according to his will. He will straightway appear to you in a terrible manner, for to those who command is the heaviest punishment reserved. The humble and the weak shall receive mercy, but the mighty shall be mightily tormented. For God fears not the power of any one, because he made both great and small and he has care for both."[3] . . .

Kings should tremble then as they use the power God has granted them; and let them think how horrible is the

[1] Isa. xlv. 1. [2] 1 Pet. ii. 17. [3] Book of Wisdom vi. 2 *sqq.*

sacrilege if they use for evil a power which comes from God. We behold kings seated upon the throne of the Lord, bearing in their hand the sword which God himself has given them. What profanation, what arrogance, for the unjust king to sit on God's throne to render decrees contrary to his laws and to use the sword which God has put in his hand for deeds of violence and to slay his children! . . .

The royal power is absolute

The royal power is absolute. With the aim of making this truth hateful and insufferable, many writers have tried to confound absolute government with arbitrary government. But no two things could be more unlike, as we shall show when we come to speak of justice.

The prince need render account of his acts to no one. "I counsel thee to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God. Be not hasty to go out of his sight: stand not on an evil thing for he doeth whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the word of a king is, there is power: and who may say unto him, What doest thou? Whoso keepeth the commandment shall feel no evil thing."[1] Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress evil. It is necessary that his power be such that no one can hope to escape him, and, finally, the only protection of individuals against the public authority should be their innocence. This conforms with the teaching of St. Paul: "Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good."[2]

The real grandeur of kings.

I do not call majesty that pomp which surrounds kings or that exterior magnificence which dazzles the vulgar. That is but the reflection of majesty and not majesty itself. Majesty is the image of the grandeur of God in the prince.

The whole state embodied in the prince.

God is infinite, God is all. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person: he is a public personage, all the state is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection and all strength are united in God, so all the power of individuals is united in the person of the prince. What grandeur that a single man should embody so much!

[1] Ecclesiasticus viii. 2–5. [2] Rom. xiii. 3.

The power of God makes itself felt in a moment from one extremity of the earth to another. Royal power works at the same time throughout all the realm. It holds all the realm in position, as God holds the earth. Should God withdraw his hand, the earth would fall to pieces; should the king's authority cease in the realm, all would be in confusion.

Look at the prince in his cabinet. Thence go out the orders which cause the magistrates and the captains, the citizens and the soldiers, the provinces and the armies on land and on sea, to work in concert. He is the image of God, who, seated on his throne high in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . .

Summary. Finally, let us put together the things so great and so august which we have said about royal authority. Behold an immense people united in a single person; behold this holy power, paternal and absolute; behold the secret cause which governs the whole body of the state, contained in a single head: you see the image of God in the king, and you have the idea of royal majesty. God is holiness itself, goodness itself, and power itself. In these things lies the majesty of God. In the image of these things lies the majesty of the prince.

Yet kings are but mortal. So great is this majesty that it cannot reside in the prince as in its source; it is borrowed from God, who gives it to him for the good of the people, for whom it is good to be checked by a superior force. Something of divinity itself is attached to princes and inspires fear in the people. The king should not forget this. "I have said," — it is God who speaks, — "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes."[1] "I have said, Ye are gods"; that is to say, you have in your authority, and you bear on your forehead, a divine imprint. "You are the children of the Most High"; it is he who has established your power for the good of mankind. But, O gods of flesh and blood, gods of clay and dust, "ye shall die like men, and fall like

[1] Ps. lxxxii. 6, 7.

princes." Grandeur separates men for a little time, but a common fall makes them all equal at the end.

O kings, exercise your power then boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind, but exercise it with humility. You are endowed with it from without. At bottom it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

III. Colbert and his Work

The finances of France were in an almost chronic state of disorder. It was financial difficulties which were finally to prove the immediate cause of the great French Revolution in 1789. The picture which Colbert gives of the situation before he became minister is, on the whole, a fair account of the conditions which prevailed during the succeeding century and which we find on the eve of the French Revolution.

336. Colbert's account of the financial disorders.

As we have had only examples of want and necessity in our finances since the death of Henry IV, it will be well to determine how it has come about that for so long a time there has not been, if not abundance, at least a tolerably satisfactory income, — something else than dearth and destitution, some approximation of equality between output and revenue. . . .

During the twenty years immediately following the death of Henry IV, the superintendents of the finances either gorged themselves with wealth, — all the other financial officials following their example, — or, if they were upright men, they did not have sufficient penetration to perceive the abuses, malfeasance, thefts, and waste which went on under cover of their authority, and even under their eyes, so that the state was always in need. It even happened that the incompetency of the superintendents was commonly more prejudicial to the state and the people than their personal thefts, seeing that there never was a time when the

superintendents appeared to be more honest than from 1616 to 1630. . . .

But since the expiration of these twenty years the change in the character of the persons chosen to fill this post has not altered the fate of the state; on the contrary, the most pernicious maxims took root in their minds and controlled their conduct and, in the course of time, assumed such strength that they have come to be considered fixed and unquestionable, and it seems to be assumed that they are not endangering the state. These maxims were:

This realm can exist only in confusion and disorder;

The secret of finance consists solely in making and unmaking, in bestowing emoluments and new honors on old officers, in creating new offices of every kind and character, in alienating rights and sources of income, withdrawing these and then reëstablishing them once more;

Causing the payment of taxes on all kinds of pretexts;

Increasing the indirect taxes and *tailles*, alienating rights, then reducing or withdrawing them to alienate them anew;

Consuming for current expenses the ordinary and extraordinary receipts of the two years following;

Premiums to those who advanced money to the government.

Giving prodigious discounts for advances in cash, not only in raising exceptional revenue, but even in the collection of the ordinary revenue, more than half of which is consumed by discounts and interest on money advanced;

Giving the opportunity to the treasurers of the public funds, other financial agents, and farmers of the revenue[1] of making immense profits; maintaining that the grandeur of the state consists in having a small number of persons who can furnish prodigious sums and astonish foreign princes;

Neglecting the farmed taxes[1] and general receipts which constitute the ordinary revenues, in order to apply themselves actively to extraordinary sources of income.

All these pernicious maxims were so firmly established that the most able and enlightened persons connected with

[1] Most of the indirect taxes were collected for the French government by a company of capitalists called the "farmers" of the revenue. See below, p. 361.

the government of the state thought that in a matter so delicate it would be more dangerous to try a new policy than to submit to the existing evils.

It is not astonishing that superintendents of finance regulated their conduct by these maxims, since they found in them two considerable advantages: the first was that in this confusion they enjoyed plenty of opportunity to enrich themselves and to make important gifts to their relatives and friends and to all the persons of the court whose good offices they had need of in order to maintain themselves in all the disorder; and the second, that they were persuaded that this policy rendered their services necessary and that no resolution to remove them could be considered.

A letter addressed by Louis XIV to the town officers and people of Marseilles in 1664, shortly after Colbert had become the financial head of the realm, clearly shows the active means which the new minister proposed to take to promote the material welfare of France.

337. Commercial policy of Colbert as shown in a letter of the king's (August 26, 1664).

Very dear and well beloved:

Considering how advantageous it would be to this realm to reëstablish its foreign and domestic commerce, . . . we have resolved to establish a council particularly devoted to commerce, to be held every fortnight in our presence, in which all the interests of merchants and the means conducive to the revival of commerce shall be considered and determined upon, as well as all that which concerns manufactures.

We also inform you that we are setting apart, in the expenses of our state, a million livres each year for the encouragement of manufactures and the increase of navigation, to say nothing of the considerable sums which we cause to be raised to supply the companies of the East and West Indies;

That we are working constantly to abolish all the tolls which are collected on the navigable rivers;

That there has already been expended more than a million livres for the repair of the public highways, to which we shall also devote our constant attention;

That we will assist by money from our royal treasury all those who wish to reëstablish old manufactures or to undertake new ones;

That we are giving orders to all our ambassadors or residents at the courts of the princes, our allies, to make, in our name, all proper efforts to cause justice to be rendered in all cases involving our merchants, and to assure for them entire commercial freedom;

That we will comfortably lodge at our court each and every merchant who has business there during all the time that he shall be obliged to remain there, having given orders to the grand marshal of our palace to indicate a proper place for that purpose, which shall be called the House of Commerce; . . .

That all the merchants and traders by sea who purchase vessels, or who build new ones, for traffic or commerce shall receive from us subsidies for each ton of merchandise which they export or import on the said voyages.

We desire, in this present letter, not only to inform you concerning all these things, but to require you, as soon as you have received it, to cause to be assembled all the merchants and traders of your town of Marseilles, and explain to them very particularly our intentions in all matters mentioned above, in order that, being informed of the favorable treatment which we desire to give them, they may be the more desirous of applying themselves to commerce. Let them understand that for everything that concerns the welfare and advantage of the same they are to address themselves to Sieur Colbert. . . .

IV. The Ascendency of France in 1671

Sir William Temple, an able English diplomat and man of letters, gives a striking picture of the flourishing condition of France during the first half of Louis XIV's reign.

The crown of France, considered in the extent of country, in the number of people, in the riches of commodities, in

338. Sir William Temple's account of France in 1671.

the revenues of the king, the greatness of the land forces now on foot, and the growth of those at sea (within these two years past), the number and bravery of their officers, the conduct of their ministers, and chiefly in the genius of their present king; a prince of great aspiring thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the institution and preservation of order and discipline; in the main a manager of his treasure and yet bountiful from his own motions wherever he intends the marks of favour and discerns particular merit; to this, in the flower of his age, at the head of all his armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts either at home or abroad: I say, considered in all these circumstances, France may appear to be designed for greater achievements in empires than have been seen in Christendom since that of Charlemagne.

Important services of Richelieu and Mazarin

The present greatness of this crown may be chiefly derived from the fortune it has had of two great ministers [Richelieu and Mazarin] succeeding one another, between two great kings, Henry IV and this present prince; so as during the course of one unactive life and of a long minority that crown gained a great deal of ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it, which is the common fate of kingdoms upon those occasions.

The latter greatness of this crown began in the time of Lewis XI by the spoils of the house of Burgundy and the divisions of the princes, which gave that king the heart of attempting to bring the government (as he called it) *hors de page;* [the monarchs] being before controlled by their princes, and restrained by their states,[1] and in point of revenue kept within the bounds of the king's desmesnes and the subjects' voluntary contributions.

'Tis not here necessary to observe by what difficulties and dangers to the crown this design of Lewis was pursued by many succeeding kings, — like a great stone forced up a hill, and, upon every slacking of either strength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the

[1] I.e. estates.

hill, and sometimes with the destruction of those that forced it on, — till the time of Cardinal Richelieu. It was in this great minister most to be admired that, finding the regency shaken by the factions of so many great ones within, and awed by the terror of the Spanish greatness without, he durst resolve to look them both in the face, and begin a war by the course of which for so many years (being pursued by Mazarin till the year 1660) the crown of France grew to be powerfully armed; the peasants were accustomed to payments (which could have seemed necessary only by a war, and which none but a successful one could have helped to digest) and grew heartless as they grew poor. The princes were sometimes satisfied with commands of the army, sometimes mortified and suppressed by the absoluteness or addresses of the ministry. The most boiling blood of the nobility and gentry was let out in so long a war, or wasted with age and exercise; at last it ended at the Pyrenees in a peace and the match so advantageous to France as the reputation of them contributed much to the authority of the young king, who was bred up in the councils and served by the tried instruments of the former ministry; but most of all, advantaged by his own personal qualities, fit to make him obeyed, grew absolute master of the factions of the great men, as well as the purses of his people. . . .

The common lot in France.

If there were any certain height where the flights of power and ambition used to end, one might imagine that the interest of France were but to conserve its present greatness, so feared by its neighbours and so glorious in the world; but besides that the motions and desires of human minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for France (from respects within) to have some war or other in pursuit abroad which may amuse the nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their condition at home, hard and uneasy to all but such as are in charge or in pay from the court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it), because no condition is so but to him that esteems it so; and if a paisan of France thinks of no more than his coarse bread and his onions, his canvass cloaths, and wooden shoes, labours

contentedly on working days, and dances or plays merrily on holy-days; he may, for aught I know, live as well as a boor of Holland, who is either weary of his very ease or whose cares of growing still richer and richer waste his life in toils on land, or dangers at sea, and perhaps fool him so far as to make him enjoy less of all kind in his riches than the other in his poverty.

V. Louis XIV and his Court

In 1671, when Louis XIV decided upon war with Holland, he honored his commander, the prince of Condé, by a visit to him at Chantilly, where a grand fête was given in the forest, for which elaborate preparations were made by Vatel, the prince of cooks. The following spirited account of the occasion and of the cook's sad end is from a letter of Madame de Sévigné's, whose charming correspondence with her daughter and friends constitutes an important source for the period and for the life at Louis' court.

339. How Louis and his court were entertained by the prince of Condé at Chantilly (1671).

It is Sunday, the 26th of April; this letter will not go till Wednesday. It is not really a letter, but an account, which Moreuil has just given me for your benefit, of what happened at Chantilly concerning Vatel. I wrote you on Friday that he had stabbed himself; here is the story in detail.

The promenade, the collation in a spot carpeted with jonquils, — all was going to perfection. Supper came; the roast failed at one or two tables on account of a number of unexpected guests. This upset Vatel. He said several times, "My honor is lost; this is a humiliation that I cannot endure." To Gourville he said, "My head is swimming; I have not slept for twelve nights; help me to give my orders." Gourville consoled him as best he could, but the roast which had failed, not at the king's, but at the twenty-fifth table, haunted his mind. Gourville told Monsieur le Prince about it, and Monsieur le Prince went up to Vatel in

his own room and said to him, "Vatel, all goes well; there never was anything so beautiful as the king's supper." He answered, "Monseigneur, your goodness overwhelms me. I know that the roast failed at two tables." "Nothing of the sort," said Monsieur le Prince. "Do not disturb yourself, — all is well."

Midnight comes. The fireworks do not succeed on account of a cloud that overspreads them (they cost sixteen thousand francs). At four o'clock in the morning Vatel is wandering about all over the place. Everything is asleep. He meets a small purveyor with two loads of fish and asks him, "Is this all?" "Yes, sir." The man did not know that Vatel had sent to all the seaport towns in France. Vatel waits some time, but the other purveyors do not arrive; he gets excited; he thinks that there will be no more fish. He finds Gourville and says to him, "Sir, I shall not be able to survive this disgrace." Gourville only laughs at him. Then Vatel goes up to his own room, puts his sword against the door, and runs it through his heart, but only at the third thrust, for he gave himself two wounds which were not mortal. He falls dead.

Meanwhile the fish is coming in from every side, and people are seeking for Vatel to distribute it. They go to his room, they knock, they burst open the door, they find him lying bathed in his blood. They send for Monsieur le Prince, who is in utter despair. Monsieur le Duc bursts into tears; it was upon Vatel that his whole journey to Burgundy depended. Monsieur le Prince informed the king, very sadly; they agreed that it all came from Vatel's having his own code of honor, and they praised his courage highly even while they blamed him. The king said that for five years he had delayed his coming because he knew the extreme trouble his visit would cause. He said to Monsieur le Prince that he ought not to have but two tables and not burden himself with the responsibility for everybody, and that he would not permit Monsieur le Prince to do so again; but it was too late for poor Vatel.

Gourville, however, tried to repair the loss of Vatel, and did repair it. The dinner was excellent; so was the luncheon.

They supped, they walked, they played, they hunted. The scent of jonquils was everywhere; it was all enchanting.

Saint-Simon, the king of memoir writers, when seventy-two years old, wrote an account of the first three Bourbon kings. The following passage from this work sums up the characteristics of Louis XIV, which are exhibited in greater detail throughout Saint-Simon's famous *Memoirs*.

340. Saint Simon's portrait of Louis XIV

The king's great qualities shone more brilliantly by reason of an exterior so unique and incomparable as to lend infinite distinction to his slightest actions; the very figure of a hero, so impregnated with a natural but most imposing majesty that it appeared even in his most insignificant gestures and movements, without arrogance but with simple gravity; proportions such as a sculptor would choose to model; a perfect countenance and the grandest air and mien ever vouchsafed to man; all these advantages enhanced by a natural grace which enveloped all his actions with a singular charm which has never perhaps been equaled. He was as dignified and majestic in his dressing gown as when dressed in robes of state, or on horseback at the head of his troops.

He excelled in all sorts of exercise and liked to have every facility for it. No fatigue nor stress of weather made any impression on that heroic figure and bearing; drenched with rain or snow, pierced with cold, bathed in sweat or covered with dust, he was always the same. I have often observed with admiration that except in the most extreme and exceptional weather nothing prevented his spending considerable time out of doors every day.

A voice whose tones corresponded with the rest of his person; the ability to speak well and to listen with quick comprehension; much reserve of manner adjusted with exactness to the quality of different persons; a courtesy always grave, always dignified, always distinguished, and suited to the age, rank, and sex of each individual, and, for the ladies, always an air of natural gallantry. So much for his exterior, which has never been equaled nor even approached.

In whatever did not concern what he believed to be his rightful authority and prerogative, he showed a natural kindness of heart and a sense of justice which made one regret the education, the flatteries, the artifice which resulted in preventing him from being his real self except on the rare occasions when he gave way to some natural impulse and showed that, — prerogative aside, which choked and stifled everything, — he loved truth, justice, order, reason, — that he loved even to let himself be vanquished.

How Louis spent his day.

Nothing could be regulated with greater exactitude than were his days and hours. In spite of all his variety of places, affairs, and amusements, with an almanac and a watch one might tell, three hundred leagues away, exactly what he was doing. . . . Except at Marly, any man could have an opportunity to speak to him five or six times during the day; he listened, and almost always replied, "I will see," in order not to accord or decide anything lightly. Never a reply or a speech that would give pain; patient to the last degree in business and in matters of personal service; completely master of his face, manner, and bearing; never giving way to impatience or anger. If he administered reproof, it was rarely, in few words, and never hastily. He did not lose control of himself ten times in his whole life, and then only with inferior persons, and not more than four or five times seriously.

Now for the reverse of the picture:

340a. Outrageous vanity of the king.

Louis XIV's vanity was without limit or restraint; it colored everything and convinced him that no one even approached him in military talents, in plans and enterprises, in government. Hence those pictures and inscriptions in the gallery at Versailles which disgust every foreigner; those opera prologues that he himself tried to sing; that flood of prose and verse in his praise for which his appetite was insatiable; those dedications of statues copied from pagan sculpture, and the insipid and sickening compliments that were continually offered to him in person and which he swallowed with unfailing relish; hence his distaste for all

merit, intelligence, education, and, most of all, for all independence of character and sentiment in others; his mistakes of judgment in matters of importance; his familiarity and favor reserved entirely for those to whom he felt himself superior in acquirements and ability; and, above everything else, a jealousy of his own authority which determined and took precedence of every other sort of justice, reason, and consideration whatever.

VI. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)

As the culmination of a consistent policy of repression, all the privileges of the Protestants were finally withdrawn by annulling the Edict of Nantes.

341. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October 22, 1685).

Louis, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, to all present and to come, greeting:

King Henry the Great, our grandfather of glorious memory, being desirous that the peace which he had procured for his subjects after the grievous losses they had sustained in the course of domestic and foreign wars, should not be troubled on account of the R.P.R.,[1] as had happened in the reigns of the kings, his predecessors, by his edict, granted at Nantes in the month of April, 1598, regulated the procedure to be adopted with regard to those of the said religion, and the places in which they might meet for public worship, established extraordinary judges to administer justice to them, and, in fine, provided in particular articles for whatever could be thought necessary for maintaining the tranquillity of his kingdom and for diminishing mutual aversion between the members of the two religions, so as to put himself in a better position to labor, as he had resolved to do, for the reunion to the Church of those who had so lightly withdrawn from it.

Objects of Henry IV in granting the edict.

As the intention of the king, our grandfather, was frustrated by his sudden death, and as the execution of the said

[1] I.e. *Religion prétendue réformée*, "the religion called the Reformed." See above, p. 184 n.

Policy of Louis XIII and reduction of the privileges of the Huguenots.

edict was interrupted during the minority of the late king, our most honored lord and father of glorious memory, by new encroachments on the part of the adherents of the said R.P.R., which gave occasion for their being deprived of divers advantages accorded to them by the said edict; nevertheless the king, our late lord and father, in the exercise of his usual clemency, granted them yet another edict at Nîmes, in July, 1629, by means of which, tranquillity being established anew, the said late king, animated by the same spirit and the same zeal for religion as the king, our said grandfather, had resolved to take advantage of this repose to attempt to put his said pious design into execution. But foreign wars having supervened soon after, so that the kingdom was seldom tranquil from 1635 to the truce concluded in 1684 with the powers of Europe, nothing more could be done for the advantage of religion beyond diminishing the number of places for the public exercise of the R.P.R., interdicting such places as were found established to the prejudice of the dispositions made by the edicts, and suppressing of the bi-partisan courts, these having been appointed provisionally only.

Policy of Louis XIV himself and the alleged conversion of the greater part of the Huguenots.

God having at last permitted that our people should enjoy perfect peace, we, no longer absorbed in protecting them from our enemies, are able to profit by this truce (which we have ourselves facilitated), and devote our whole attention to the means of accomplishing the designs of our said grandfather and father, which we have consistently kept before us since our succession to the crown.

And now we perceive, with thankful acknowledgment of God's aid, that our endeavors have attained their proposed end, inasmuch as the better and the greater part of our subjects of the said R.P.R. have embraced the Catholic faith. And since by this fact the execution of the Edict of Nantes and of all that has ever been ordained in favor of the said R.P.R. has been rendered nugatory, we have determined that we can do nothing better, in order wholly to obliterate the memory of the troubles, the confusion, and the evils which the progress of this false religion has caused in this

kingdom, and which furnished occasion for the said edict and for so many previous and subsequent edicts and declarations, than entirely to revoke the said Edict of Nantes, with the special articles granted as a sequel to it, as well as all that has since been done in favor of the said religion.

The Edict of Nantes revoked.

I. Be it known that for these causes and others us hereunto moving, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have, by this present perpetual and irrevocable edict, suppressed and revoked, and do suppress and revoke, the edict of our said grandfather, given at Nantes in April, 1598, in its whole extent, together with the particular articles agreed upon in the month of May following, and the letters patent issued upon the same date; and also the edict given at Nîmes in July, 1629; we declare them null and void, together with all concessions, of whatever nature they may be, made by them as well as by other edicts, declarations, and orders, in favor of the said persons of the R.P.R., the which shall remain in like manner as if they had never been granted; and in consequence we desire, and it is our pleasure, that all the temples of those of the said R.P.R. situate in our kingdom, countries, territories, and the lordships under our crown, shall be demolished without delay.

All Protestant churches to be demolished.

No Protestant services in private houses.

II. We forbid our subjects of the R.P.R. to meet any more for the exercise of the said religion in any place or private house, under any pretext whatever, . . .

III. We likewise forbid all noblemen, of what condition soever, to hold such religious exercises in their houses or fiefs, under penalty to be inflicted upon all our said subjects who shall engage in the said exercises, of imprisonment and confiscation.

All Protestant ministers to leave the country within a fortnight.

IV. We enjoin all ministers of the said R.P.R., who do not choose to become converts and to embrace the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, to leave our kingdom and the territories subject to us within a fortnight of the publication of our present edict, without leave to reside therein beyond that period, or, during the said fortnight, to engage in any

preaching, exhortation, or any other function, on pain of being sent to the galleys.[1] . . .

Protestant schools forbidden.

VII. We forbid private schools for the instruction of children of the said R.P.R., and in general all things whatever which can be regarded as a concession of any kind in favor of the said religion.

Children of Protestants to be baptized by Catholic priests.

VIII. As for children who may be born of persons of the said R.P.R., we desire that from henceforth they be baptized by the parish priests. We enjoin parents to send them to the churches for that purpose, under penalty of five hundred livres fine, to be increased as circumstances may demand; and thereafter the children shall be brought up in the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, which we expressly enjoin the local magistrates to see done.

Huguenots who have emigrated may return within four months.

IX. And in the exercise of our clemency towards our subjects of the said R.P.R. who have emigrated from our kingdom, lands, and territories subject to us, previous to the publication of our present edict, it is our will and pleasure that in case of their returning within the period of four months from the day of the said publication, they may, and it shall be lawful for them to, again take possession of their property, and to enjoy the same as if they had all along remained there: on the contrary, the property abandoned by those who, during the specified period of four months, shall not have returned into our kingdom, lands, and territories subject to us, shall remain and be confiscated in consequence of our declaration of the 20th of August last.

Huguenots may not leave France.

X. We repeat our most express prohibition to all our subjects of the said R.P.R., together with their wives and children, against leaving our kingdom, lands, and territories subject to us, or transporting their goods and effects therefrom under penalty, as respects the men, of being sent to the galleys, and as respects the women, of imprisonment and confiscation.

[1] Articles V and VI hold out advantages — exemptions, pensions, and promotion — to Protestant ministers who consent to turn Catholics.

XI. It is our will and intention that the declarations rendered against the relapsed shall be executed according to their form and tenor.

XII. As for the rest, liberty is granted to the said persons of the R.P.R., pending the time when it shall please God to enlighten them as well as others, to remain in the cities and places of our kingdom, lands, and territories subject to us, and there to continue their commerce, and to enjoy their possessions, without being subjected to molestation or hindrance on account of the said R.P.R., on condition of not engaging in the exercise of the said religion, or of meeting under pretext of prayers or religious services, of whatever nature these may be, under the penalties above mentioned of imprisonment and confiscation.[1] This do we give in charge to our trusty and well-beloved counselors, etc.

Huguenots to be unmolested.

Given at Fontainebleau in the month of October, in the year of grace 1685, and of our reign the forty-third.

342. Saint-Simon's angry account of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Opinions in regard to the expediency of the revocation of the edict naturally differed. Madame de Sévigné, the gentlest of women but most devout of Catholics, wrote: "You have doubtless seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing could be finer than all its provisions. No king has done or ever will do anything more honorable."[2] Saint-Simon, on the other hand, gives a somewhat lurid account of the criminal stupidity and the fearful results of the revocation.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without the slightest pretext or necessity, and the various proscriptions that

[1] In spite of this seeming toleration, the Protestants, as heretics, were practically outlaws in France. To be outside the Catholic Church was to be outside the state. The priests kept the records of births and deaths and the registry of wills, and unless the Huguenots consented to have their marriages performed by the priests their children were regarded as illegitimate.

[2] Letter of October 28, 1685, *Correspondance*, VII, p. 420.

followed it, were the fruits of a frightful plot, in which the new spouse was one of the chief conspirators, and which depopulated a quarter of the realm; ruined its commerce; weakened it in every direction; gave it up for a long time to the public and avowed pillage of the dragoons; authorized torments and punishments by which many innocent people of both sexes were killed by thousands; ruined a numerous class; tore in pieces a world of families; armed relatives against relatives, so as to seize their property and leave them to die of hunger; banished our manufactures to foreign lands; made those lands flourish and overflow at the expense of France, and enabled them to build new cities; gave to the world the spectacle of a prodigious population proscribed without crime, stripped, fugitive, wandering, and seeking shelter far from their country; sent to the galleys nobles, rich old men, people much esteemed for their piety, learning, and virtue, people carefully nurtured, weak, and delicate; — and all solely on account of religion; in fact, to heap up the measure of horror, filled the realm with perjury and sacrilege, in the midst of the echoed cries of these unfortunate victims of error, while so many others sacrificed their conscience to their wealth and their repose, and purchased both by simulated abjuration, from which without pause they were dragged to adore what they did not believe in, and to receive the divine body of the Most Holy whilst remaining persuaded that they were only eating bread which they ought to abhor!

Such was the general abomination born of flattery and cruelty. From torture to abjuration, and from that to communion, there was often only a space of twenty-four hours; and executioners were the guides of the converts and their witnesses. . . . The king received from all sides detailed news of these conversions. It was by thousands that those who had abjured and taken the communion were counted; ten thousand in one place, six thousand in another, — all at once and instantly. The king congratulated himself on his power and his piety. He believed himself to have brought back the days of the apostles, and attributed to himself

all the honor. The bishops wrote panegyrics of him; the Jesuits made the pulpit resound with his praise. All France was filled with horror and confusion; and yet there was never such triumph and joy, such boundless laudation of the king.

VII. Opening of the War of the Spanish Succession

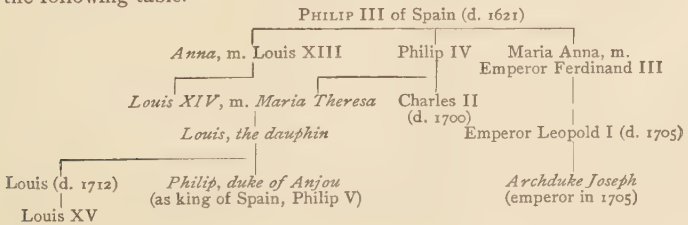
The marquis of Torcy (1665–1746), who was at the head of foreign affairs during the War of the Spanish Succession, thus describes, in his remarkable memoirs, the opening of the conflict.

343. How the War of the Spanish Succession came about. (From the memoirs of Torcy.)

At length the event long foreseen happened. Charles II (of Spain), sovereign of so many different dominions, died on the 1st of November in the year 1700; and his death in a very little time occasioned a general combustion in Europe.

By his will, signed the 2d of October preceding, he acknowledged the right of his sister, the infanta Maria Theresa, queen of France and mother of the dauphin, as also the right of his aunt, Queen Anna,[1] and consequently that of the dauphin, who was therefore his only heir, according to the laws of the kingdom; but to prevent all Europe from being alarmed at the uniting of such extensive dominions to the crown of France, of which the dauphin was the only presumptive heir, Charles called the duke of Anjou, the dauphin's second son, to the succession, appointing him sole heir to all his

[1] Namely, the wife of Louis XIII and so the dauphin's grandmother. The basis of the claims of France and Austria in 1700 may be seen from the following table.


Philip III of Spain (d. 1621)
Anna, m. Louis XIII
Philip IV
Maria Anna, m. Emperor Ferdinand III
Louis XIV, m. Maria Theresa
Charles II (d. 1700)
Louis, the dauphin
Emperor Leopold I (d. 1705)
Louis (d. 1712)
Louis XV
Philip, duke of Anjou (as king of Spain, Philip V)
Archduke Joseph (emperor in 1705)

kingdoms and lordships, without any exception or partition whatsoever. He ordered all his subjects and vassals to acknowledge him as their king and natural sovereign. But till this prince should come to Madrid, and even till he should come of age,[1] his Majesty ordained a council of regency, or junto, for the administration of the state, and nominated the members of which it was to be composed, placing the queen at the head.

Immediately upon the king of Spain's decease, the junto wrote to the king [of France], giving him notice of this event; and the Spanish ambassador had orders to deliver the will to his Majesty, together with the letter signed by the queen and the members of the junto.

As they were in doubt at Madrid whether the king of France would accept the last proposals of his Catholic Majesty, the junto ordered Castel dos Rios, in case of such a refusal, to have the same courier who had been sent from Madrid proceed forthwith to Vienna; the intention of the late king having been to bequeath the entire succession to the archduke, in case his first settlement should not be accepted in France.

The king was then at Fontainebleau. Upon the arrival of the courier, the Spanish ambassador communicated the orders he had just received to that one among the ministers to whom the king confided the department of foreign affairs,[2] and demanded a private audience of his Majesty. The king, before he would fix the hour, was desirous of having the opinion of his council upon an event so unexpected and yet so important to the royal family, to the welfare of the kingdom, and to the general tranquillity of Europe. . . .

It was easier to foresee than to provide for the consequences of the decision in question. His Majesty had engaged to reject every disposition of his realms whatsoever made by the king of Spain in favor of a prince of the line of France, — an engagement that excluded a bequest by will, a donation, or any other form of deed or settlement.

[1] He was seventeen years old in 1700.

[2] Namely, the writer himself.

By breaking his engagements, he would incur the censure of violating the sacred word of a king, and moreover the consequence of such a violation was inevitable war. His chief aim in hastening the conclusion of the peace signed at Ryswick [1697] was to let his people have time to breathe after a long series of wars, and now, when they had scarce begun to enjoy a little repose, they would be obliged to support a new war, which would immediately become general; for there was not the least reason to expect that the neighboring princes, who were already so greatly alarmed at the power of France, would tamely suffer the king to extend his authority so as to rule, in the name of his grandson, over the dominions subject to the crown of Spain in the Old and New Worlds.

On the other hand, it was to be considered that if the king refused to accept the will, this same act transferred the entire succession to the archduke [Joseph]. The same courier that had been dispatched into France would proceed to Vienna; and the Spanish nation, without any hesitation, would acknowledge the emperor's second son for their king. The house of Austria of course would reunite, between the father and son, the power of Charles V, a power heretofore so fatal to France. And, besides, all security for preserving the peace of Ryswick would cease, the treaty of partition being no longer sufficient to maintain it. . . . The king therefore determined to accept the will.

Saint-Simon thus describes in his well-known memoirs the remarkable scene in which Louis XIV announced to his assembled courtiers that his grandson, the duke of Anjou, was king of Spain.

344. How Louis XIV proclaimed the duke of Anjou king of Spain.

At last, on Tuesday, the 16th of November, the king publicly declared himself. The Spanish ambassador had received intelligence which proved the eagerness of Spain to welcome the duke of Anjou as its king. There seemed to be no doubt in the matter. The king, immediately after getting up, called the ambassador into his cabinet, where his

grace the duke of Anjou had already arrived. Then, pointing to the duke, he told the ambassador he might salute him as king of Spain. The ambassador, thereupon, threw himself upon his knees after the fashion of his country, and addressed to the duke a tolerably long compliment in the Spanish language.

Immediately afterwards the king, contrary to all custom, opened the two folding doors of his cabinet, and commanded everybody to enter. It was a very full court that day. The king, majestically turning his eyes towards the numerous company, and showing them the duke of Anjou, said: "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain. His birth called him to that crown; the late king has called him to it by his will; the whole nation desired him, and has eagerly asked me for him; it is the will of Heaven; I have obeyed it with pleasure."

And then, turning towards his grandson, he said to him: "Be a good Spaniard: that is your first duty; but remember that you are a Frenchman born, in order that in this way the union between the two nations may be preserved. By this means you will be able to render both peoples happy, and preserve the peace of Europe."

345. Attitude of England at the opening of the war. (From the Memoirs of Torcy.)

The attitude of England at the opening of the War of the Spanish Succession is described by the marquis of Torcy, who, as an active diplomat, was well acquainted with the policy of the various countries.

During the first year [of the war] the emperor stood his ground alone. By the treaty signed at The Hague, his allies had engaged to send him speedy succor; but to render King William's promises effectual, the Parliament of England had first to approve of that prince's engagements.

The English are a people rarely unanimous in their sentiments. At that time the disputes ran very high between Whigs and Tories. The king of Great Britain favored the former, and trusted them with the chief posts and employments. He was sure indeed of their votes in Parliament;

but he could not be sure of bringing the nation into a new quarrel, when she was groaning under the weight of the former war and still felt the prejudice it had done to her commerce. Perhaps it would have signified but little to have represented to those who bear the burden of the taxes that Europe was in imminent danger of being oppressed, had not the love of liberty united those princes and states whose interest it was to oppose the king of France's ambitious designs.

The Pretender.

The old bugbear of universal monarchy had less effect upon the minds of the English than the dread of new taxes in case of another war. But the death of King James II, and especially his Majesty's [Louis XIV] resolution of acknowledging the prince of Wales as king of Great Britain, altered the disposition which a great part of the people seemed to have towards peace. The different parties united. The whole English nation looked upon it as the greatest indignity that France should pretend to arrogate to itself the right of giving them a king in opposition to a prince of their own inviting, who had reigned over them many years.

King William profited by this general resentment of the people, and in the speech which he made to both houses of Parliament he treated the recognition of the prince of Wales not only as the greatest indignity that could be offered to his person and to the nation, but likewise as an act equally important to the Protestant religion, to the present and future tranquillity of Europe, and to the real happiness of England. Neither did he forget to exaggerate the danger to which the commerce of England would be exposed in its principal branches by a union between Spain and France.

By thus flattering the temper and disposition of the English, King William received from both houses the warmest assurances of indignation against France, of zeal for preserving the repose and liberty of England as well as of all Europe, and of an earnest desire to support the rights of the house of Austria, as the only means of establishing the public repose on a solid basis.

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Saint-Simon.

Saint-Simon (1675–1755), *Mémoires*. Saint-Simon is perhaps the most celebrated of memoir writers. He began to make notes very early, probably in 1691, but did not commence to write out his memoirs in their final form until 1740, when he was sixty-five years old. The events he narrates belong to the period 1692–1723, and he made much use of the *Journal* of Dangeau, mentioned below. Saint-Simon's admirable style has led his readers to overlook his inaccuracy and partiality, for he was a good hater. There is an excellent edition of the Memoirs edited by Chéruel, 2d ed., 1873–1877 (22 vols.), cheaper edition in thirteen vols. About half of a new edition in thirty vols., edited by Boislisle, has appeared in *Les Grands Écrivains de la France*.

Letters of the duchess of Orleans.

The *Letters* of the duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of Louis and mother of the regent Philippe of Orleans, form an interesting source. Important for the latter half of Louis' reign. Madame's sharp eyes saw many things, and she wrote very freely and constantly to her friends and relatives. There are a number of French translations of collections of her letters, the most complete of which is that edited by Jaeglé, Paris, 3 vols., 1890. Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*, Vol. VI, gives a number in the original German.

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MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ (1626–1696), *Letters*. The charming letters of this charming lady are very numerous and relate mainly to the years 1670–1696. The most complete of many editions is that edited for *Les Grands Écrivains de la France* by Monmerqué, 14 vols., 1862–1868, including elaborate indices. Several volumes of selections have been published.

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For the governmental system and the work of Colbert, see especially CLEMENT, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*, 7 vols.; DEPPING, *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV*, 4 vols.; BOISLISLE, *Correspondance des contrôleurs généraux*, 2 vols. To these collections of materials should be added the following works of first-rate importance: HANOTAUX, *Origine de l'institution des intendants*, 1884; CLAMAGERAN, *Histoire de l'impôt en France*, 3 vols., 1867–1868; LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, 2d ed.; *Recueil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France depuis les traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la révolution française*, 16 vols., 1884 *sqq*. This collection is edited by various hands and contains the text of the more important documents and analyses of other sources for the foreign policy of France.

The Huguenots.

For the Huguenots: BENOÎT (d. 1728), *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes*, 5 vols., Delft, 1693–1695. A celebrated work completed not long after the revocation of the edict. *Recueil des édits, declarations et arrêts concernans la religion prétendue reformée*, new edition, 1885. The brothers HAAG have given a very complete history of French Protestantism in their *France protestante*, 2d ed., 10 vols., 1877–1895. The Société de l'histoire du Protestantism français has, since 1853, published a vast amount of important material in its *Bulletin*, of which some sixty volumes have appeared.

Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française, edited by Petit de Julleville, Vol. V, furnishes an introduction to the literature of the period.

CHAPTER XXXII

RISE OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA

I. Ivan the Terrible

Englishmen began to undertake voyages to Russia during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. The following impressions of the tsar are taken from the description which one of these English travelers gives of a voyage which took place in 1567.

346. An Englishman's impressions of Ivan the Terrible (1567).

The emperor's name in their tongue is Evan Vasilivich; that is as much as to say, John, the son of Vasilie. And by his princely state he is called Otesara [O Tsar!], as his predecessors have been before[1]; which, to interpret, is, "a king that giveth not tribute to any man." And this word Otesara his Majesty's interpreters have of late days interpreted to be an emperor; so that now he is called emperor and great duke of all Russia, etc. . . . And as this emperor, which is now Ivan Vasilivich, doth exceed his predecessors in name, — that is, from a duke to an emperor, — even so much by report he doth exceed them in stoutness of courage and valiantness and a great deal more; for he is no more afraid of his . . . enemies, which are not a few, than the hobby [is] of the larks.

This emperor useth great familiarity, as well unto all his nobles and subjects as also unto strangers which serve him either in his wars or in occupations; for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the year in his presence, and, besides that, he is oftentimes abroad, either at one church

[1] In spite of this assertion, it would seem that Ivan was the first to assume the title of tsar, at his coronation in 1547.

or another, and walking with his noblemen abroad. And by this means he is not only beloved of his nobles and commons, but also had in great fear and dread through all his dominions, so that I think that no prince in Christendom is more feared of his own than he is, nor yet better beloved. For if he bid any of his dukes go, they will run; if he give any evil or angry word to any of them, the party will not come again into his Majesty's presence for a long time if he be not sent for, but he will feign him to be very sick, and will let the hair of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shaving, which is an evident token that he is in the emperor's displeasure; for when they be in their prosperity they account it a shame to wear long hair, in consideration whereof they use to have their heads shaven.

His Majesty heareth all complaints himself, and with his own mouth giveth sentence and judgment of all matters, and that with expedition; but with religious matters he meddleth not withal, but referreth them wholly unto the metropolitan.

His Majesty retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serve him, and especially men of war.

He delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or music, but setteth his whole delight upon two things: first, to serve God, as undoubtedly he is very devout in his religion; and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies.

II. Peter the Great

Peter the Great, in his anxiety to reform Russia and make it a great power, renewed the active intercourse with western Europe which had been fostered to some extent toward a century and a half earlier by Ivan the Terrible. He visited the western regions himself, imported military leaders, artisans, and scientists, and did much to remodel Russian customs. One of the

most satisfactory accounts of the tsar's visit to England is given by the sagacious historian, Bishop Burnet.[1]

347. Bishop Burnet's impressions of Peter the Great in 1698.

I mentioned in the relation of the former year [1698] the tsar's coming out of his own country; on which I will now enlarge. He came this winter over to England and stayed some months among us. I waited often on him, and was ordered both by the king and the archbishop and bishops to attend upon him and to offer him such informations of our religion and constitution as he was willing to receive. I had good interpreters, so I had much free discourse with him. He is a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed and very brutal in his passion. He raises his natural heat by drinking much brandy, which he rectifies himself with great application. He is subject to convulsive motions all over his body, and his head seems to be affected with these. He wants not capacity, and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education, which was very indifferent. A want of judgment, with an instability of temper, appear in him too often and too evidently.

The tsar's interest in shipbuilding

He is mechanically turned, and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship carpenter than a great prince. This was his chief study and exercise while he stayed here. He wrought much with his own hands and made all about him work at the models of ships. He told me he designed a great fleet at Azuph [i.e. Azov] and with it to attack the Turkish empire. But he did not seem capable of conducting so great a design, though his conduct in his wars since this has discovered a greater genius in him than appeared at this time.

He was desirous to understand our doctrine, but he did not seem disposed to mend matters in Moscovy. He was, indeed, resolved to encourage learning and to polish his people by sending some of them to travel in other countries and to draw strangers to come and live among them. He seemed apprehensive still [i.e. ever] of his sister's [i.e. the

[1] See above, pp. 253 and 267.

Princess Sophia's] intrigues. There was a mixture both of passion and severity in his temper. He is resolute, but understands little of war, and seemed not at all inquisitive that way.

Burnet's reflections upon Russian autocracy.

After I had seen him often, and had conversed much with him, I could not but adore the depth of the providence of God that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute an authority over so great a part of the world. David, considering the great things God had made for the use of man, broke out into the meditation, "What is man, that thou art so mindful of him?" But here there is an occasion for reversing these words, since man seems a very contemptible thing in the sight of God, while such a person as the tsar has such multitudes put, as it were, under his feet, exposed to his restless jealousy and savage temper.

Peter's vengeance upon the rebels.

He went from hence to the court of Vienna, where he purposed to have stayed some time, but he was called home sooner than he had intended upon a discovery, or a suspicion, of intrigues managed by his sister. The strangers, to whom he trusted most, were so true to him that those designs were crushed before he came back. But on this occasion he let loose his fury on all whom he suspected. Some hundreds of them were hanged all around Moskow, and it was said that he cut off many heads with his own hand; and so far was he from relenting or showing any sort of tenderness that he seemed delighted with it. How long he is to be the scourge of that nation God only knows.

As Burnet mentions, the old and mutinous Muscovite guard — the *Streltsi* (or *Strelitz*, as it is sometimes less accurately written) — took occasion during Peter's absence to rebel. Peter's sister Sophia was implicated, and the tsar hurried home to make a cruel investigation and take horrible vengeance upon the seditious. An Austrian secretary of legation, named Von Korb, who was in Moscow on the tsar's return, has left in his diary a painful but probably very accurate account of Peter's savage conduct.

348. An Austrian's account of Peter's way of dealing with rebels (1698–1699).

How sharp was the pain, how great the indignation, to which the tsar's Majesty was mightily moved, when he knew of the rebellion of the Streltsi, betraying openly a mind panting for vengeance! He was still tarrying at Vienna, quite full of the desire of setting out for Italy; but, fervid as was his curiosity of rambling abroad, it was, nevertheless, speedily extinguished on the announcement of the troubles that had broken out in the bowels of his realm. Going immediately to Lefort (almost the only person that he condescended to treat with intimate familiarity), he thus indignantly broke out: "Tell me, Francis, son of James, how I can reach Moscow by the shortest way, in a brief space, so that I may wreak vengeance on this great perfidy of my people, with punishments worthy of their abominable crime. Not one of them shall escape with impunity. Around my royal city, which, with their impious efforts, they planned to destroy, I will have gibbets and gallows set upon the walls and ramparts, and each and every one of them will I put to a direful death." Nor did he long delay the plan for his justly excited wrath; he took the quick post, as his ambassador suggested, and in four weeks' time he had got over about three hundred miles without accident, and arrived the 4th of September, 1698, — a monarch for the well disposed, but an avenger for the wicked.

His first anxiety after his arrival was about the rebellion, — in what it consisted, what the insurgents meant, who dared to instigate such a crime. And as nobody could answer accurately upon all points, and some pleaded their own ignorance, others the obstinacy of the Streltsi, he began to have suspicions of everybody's loyalty. . . . No day, holy or profane, were the inquisitors idle; every day was deemed fit and lawful for torturing. There were as many scourges as there were accused, and every inquisitor was a butcher. . . . The whole month of October was spent in lacerating the backs of culprits with the knout and with flames; no day were those that were left alive exempt from scourging or scorching; or else they were broken upon the wheel, or driven to the gibbet, or slain with the ax. . . .

Moscow adorned with corpses of rebels.

To prove to all people how holy and inviolable are those walls of the city which the Streltsi rashly meditated scaling in a sudden assault, beams were run out from all the embrasures in the walls near the gates, in each of which two rebels were hanged. This day beheld about two hundred and fifty die that death. There are few cities fortified with as many palisades as Moscow has given gibbets to her guardian Streltsi.

[In front of the nunnery where Sophia was confined] there were thirty gibbets erected in a quadrangle shape, from which there hung two hundred and thirty Streltsi; the three principal ringleaders, who tendered a petition to Sophia touching the administration of the realm, were hanged close to the windows of that princess, presenting, as it were, the petitions that were placed in their hands, so near that Sophia might with ease touch them.

Peter, like his father, had a great number of foreign officers about him, German, French, Dutch, English, Scotch, in whom he placed great reliance. Patrick Gordon, a Scotchman, was made chief of the Russian forces, while the tsar made another Scot, Alexander Gordon, major general. The latter wrote an interesting *History of Peter the Great.* After serving for a short time under Louis XIV, Gordon had drifted to Russia about 1694, and appears to have gained his first promotion in the following manner:

349. How Alexander Gordon was promoted by Peter. (From a brief biography prefaced to his *History of Peter the Great.*)

Soon after his arrival in Russia he was invited to a marriage, where a good many young gentlemen of the best families in the country were present. Few nations are fond of foreigners; and the Russians in particular are too apt to despise them. When these gentlemen were warm with their liquor some of them spoke very disrespectfully of foreigners, and of the Scots in particular; they even went the length of personal abuse. Mr. Gordon, who to his last hour had a strong passion for his country, could not hear it abused by

anybody without resenting the insult. He modestly represented to them the injustice of such indiscriminate satire, acknowledged that there were bad, but insisted there were also good, men in all countries; begged they would not lay him under the disagreeable necessity of quarreling with them by enlarging further on such a grating subject; and told them that it was unworthy gentlemen to be influenced by vulgar prejudices.

The mildness of his reproof, like oil poured upon the fire, only served to inflame these brave fellows, who exclaimed against foreigners and Scotland more than ever. When he could bear their insolence no longer he gave the one who sat next to him a blow on the temple which brought him to the floor. In an instant he and the other five were upon Mr. Gordon and seemed determined to make him fall a victim to their national prejudice. But our author, not in the least intimidated by their number, in a few minutes obliged them to retreat, and had the glory of the victory in this very unequal combat. Though they used no other weapons but their fists, Mr. Gordon's were so weighty, and bestowed with such good will, that his antagonists bore the marks of them for several weeks.

Next day a complaint was given to Tsar Peter, wherein Mr. Gordon was represented in the worst light imaginable. His Majesty thought it a very singular thing to have a complaint of this nature brought before him when attended with such disgraceful circumstances on the part of the complainers; he therefore immediately ordered Mr. Gordon to be sent for. Our author, though no man was less a coward, owned that this message made him tremble. However, as it behooved him to be obeyed, he instantly waited upon the tsar, who, putting on a very stern countenance, asked him how he came to be so turbulent and whether the charge brought against him was just. Mr. Gordon told his Majesty of the quarrel with so much ingenuity, spoke so modestly of his own behavior, and seemed so sorry to have incurred the tsar's displeasure, that the affair ended in a manner quite contrary to the expectations of his enemies.

The tsar, after hearing him very patiently, said, "Well, sir, your accusers have done you justice by allowing you to beat six men; I will also do you justice." On saying this he withdrew, and in a few minutes returned with a major's commission, which he presented to Mr. Gordon with his own hand.

This anecdote of our author's history he once told, and we believe never but once; not out of vanity, for no man had a larger share of modesty, but in accidental conversation on the fierceness of the tsar's disposition, and how much his displeasure was dreaded by his greatest subjects.

The impressions which Bishop Burnet records of Peter (see above, pp. 303 *sq.*) may be compared with those of General Gordon, who had different opportunities of observing the tsar.

350. General Gordon's impressions of Peter the Great.

This great emperor came in a few years to know to a farthing the amount of all his revenues, as also how they were laid out. He was at little or no expense about his person, and by living rather like a private gentleman than a prince he saved wholly that great expense which other monarchs are at in supporting the grandeur of their courts. It was uneasy for him to appear in majesty, which he seldom or never did, but when absolutely necessary, on such occasions as giving audience to ambassadors or the like; so that he had all the pleasure of a great emperor and at the same time that of a private gentleman.

He was a lover of company, and a man of much humor and pleasantry, exceedingly facetious and of vast natural parts. He had no letters; he could only read and write, but had a great regard for learning and was at much pains to introduce it into the country. He rose early; the morning he gave to business till ten or eleven o'clock at the farthest; all the rest of the day, and a great part of the night, to diversion and pleasure. He took his bottle heartily, so must all the company; for when he was merry himself he loved to see everybody so; though at the same time he

could not endure habitual drinkers, for such he thought unfit for business.

When he paid a visit to a friend he would pass almost the whole night, not caring to part with good company till past two o'clock in the morning. He never kept guards about his person. . . . He never could abide ceremony, but loved to be spoke to frankly and without reserve.

It was while Gordon was fighting for the tsar that Peter undertook the founding of the new town of St. Petersburg.

351. How Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg (From General Gordon's *History*.)

In the year 1703 the tsar took the field early, cantoned his troops in the month of March, and about the 20th of April brought the army together; then marched and invested another small but important place called Nyen-Chance, which surrendered on the 14th of May. The commodious situation of this place made the tsar resolve to erect on it a considerable town, with a strong citadel, consisting of six royal bastions, together with good outworks; this he soon put into execution and called it St. Petersburg, which is now esteemed so strong that it will be scarcely possible for the Swedes ever to take it by force.

As he was digesting the scheme of this, his favorite town, which he designed not only for the place of his residence but the principal harbor of his shipping, as having a communication with the sea by the river Nyen; having duly observed and sounded it all over, he found it would be a very natural project to erect a fort in the isle opposite to the island of Ratusary; which for a whole league over to the land is not above four feet deep. This is a most curious work scarcely to be matched. He went about it in winter, in the month of November, when the ice was so strong that it could bear any weight, causing it to carry materials such as timber, stone, etc. The foundation was thus laid: trees of about thirty feet in length and about fifteen inches thick were taken and joined artfully together into chests ten feet high; these chests were filled with stones of great weight,

which sunk down through the sea, and made a very solid foundation, upon which he raised his fort, called Cronstat. . . .

About two hundred fathoms distant from the island Ratusary there is also erected another strong fort, with a tolerable small town, called Cronburgh, where sea officers are commonly lodged. Betwixt Cronstat and Cronburgh is all sea, deep only in the middle, about thirty fathoms broad, so that ships of great burden can pass only one after another. These two forts secure St. Petersburg from any insult by sea, and make it perhaps one of the best and safest harbors in the known world. . . . The work gave no small umbrage to the Swedes. In carrying materials for it there were upwards of eight thousand horses destroyed and near as many men.

A French historical writer of the first half of the eighteenth century, Jean Rousset de Missy,[1] wrote a life of Peter the Great. Although the author never visited Russia, his volumes have some value, since he appears to have taken pains to get reliable information. He thus describes the reform in dress enforced by Peter.

352. How Peter the Great forced his people to wear Western dress.

The tsar labored at the reform of fashions, or, more properly speaking, of dress. Until that time the Russians had always worn long beards, which they cherished and preserved with much care, allowing them to hang down on their bosoms, without even cutting the moustache. With these long beards they wore the hair very short, except the ecclesiastics, who, to distinguish themselves, wore it very long. The tsar, in order to reform that custom, ordered that gentlemen, merchants, and other subjects, except priests and peasants, should each pay a tax of one hundred rubles a year if they wished to keep their beards; the commoners had to pay one kopeck each. Officials were stationed at the gates

[1] He wrote under the assumed name Ivan Nestesuranoi.

of the towns to collect that tax, which the Russians regarded as an enormous sin on the part of the tsar and as a thing which tended to the abolition of their religion.

These insinuations, which came from the priests, occasioned the publication of many pamphlets in Moscow, where for that reason alone the tsar was regarded as a tyrant and a pagan; and there were many old Russians who, after having their beards shaved off, saved them preciously, in order to have them placed in their coffins, fearing that they would not be allowed to enter heaven without their beards. As for the young men, they followed the new custom with the more readiness as it made them appear more agreeable to the fair sex.

From the reform in beards we may pass to that of clothes. Their garments, like those of the Orientals, were very long, reaching to the heel. The tsar issued an ordinance abolishing that costume, commanding all the boyars (nobles) and all those who had positions at the court to dress after the French fashion, and likewise to adorn their clothes with gold or silver according to their means.

As for the rest of the people, the following method was employed. A suit of clothes cut according to the new fashion was hung at the gate of the city, with a decree enjoining upon all except peasants to have their clothes made on this model, under penalty of being forced to kneel and have all that part of their garments which fell below the knee cut off, or pay two grives every time they entered the town with clothes in the old style. Since the guards at the gates executed their duty in curtailing the garments in a sportive spirit, the people were amused and readily abandoned their old dress, especially in Moscow and its environs, and in the towns which the tsar oftenest visited.

The dress of the women was changed, too. English hairdressing was substituted for the caps and bonnets hitherto worn; bodices, stays, and skirts, for the former undergarment.[1] . . .

[1] The Russian names of the native garments are omitted here.

The same ordinance also provided that in the future women, as well as men, should be invited to entertainments, such as weddings, banquets, and the like, where both sexes should mingle in the same hall, as in Holland and England. It was likewise added that these entertainments should conclude with concerts and dances, but that only those should be admitted who were dressed in English costumes. His Majesty set the example in all these changes.

III. How the Turks were defeated before Vienna (1683)

During the latter half of the seventeenth century eastern Europe was much agitated by the renewed activity of the Turks. In 1683 the grand vizier, Kara-Moustafa, determined to march straight upon Vienna, to which he laid siege with an immense army. Although the city had no more than ten thousand regular soldiers in its garrison, the governor, Stahrenberg, refused to surrender. The town was soon in desperate straits, and was upon the point of falling into the enemy's hands, when the king of Poland, John Sobieski, accompanied by some of the German princes, arrived. In the following letter, dated September 13, Sobieski describes to his wife the memorable defeat of the Turks, which was the beginning of their rapid expulsion from their western conquests.

353. How Sobieski defeated the Turks before Vienna (1683).

Praised be our Lord God forever for granting our nation such a victory and such glory as was never heard of in all times past! The whole camp of the enemy, with their artillery and untold treasure, has fallen into our hands. They are now retreating in great confusion, and the approaches to the town, the camp, and the open fields are covered with their corpses.

The camels and other beasts of burden, the cattle, and the sheep belonging to the enemy were captured to-day by our troops and the captive Turkish shepherds driven off.

There are some deserters, well mounted and gorgeously appareled, who have voluntarily come over to us from the enemy. Their appearance was so extraordinary and well-nigh incredible that the townspeople were overcome with fright and our soldiers with astonishment, for they thought the enemy had recovered themselves and were coming back.

What they lost in powder and ammunition alone is worth a million. Some of our camp followers foolishly set off the powder in several places, and it made a fearful noise, but there was no further harm done. The grand vizier lost all his rich treasure and barely escaped, on horseback, with nothing but the coat on his back, and I have become his heir and successor.

It all came about in this way. Having forced my way into the enemy's camp, I was pressing forward in pursuit of the vizier when one of his chamberlains surrendered to me and afterwards showed me his leader's tent, which was so large it might have contained within its circumference the city of Warsaw or of Lemberg. The standard that the grand vizier always had carried before him with great ceremony fell into my hands, along with the Mohammedan banner presented to him by the sultan for this campaign, which I have sent by post to his Apostolic Holiness in Rome. There are quantities of the most beautiful gold-mounted sabers and other rare Turkish accouterments to be seen in our army.

The coming on of night prevented us from continuing the pursuit. It cannot be denied that they defended themselves bravely, especially the companies of janizaries who guarded the approaches to the camp and so bore the brunt of the battle. The daring and courage of these people were such that while part of them fought with us in the field the rest undertook to storm the fortifications, which with their great numbers they might well do.

I estimate the number of the besieging army at three hundred thousand, not counting the Tartars; others believe

there were three hundred thousand tents and reckon three men to a tent, but that would make the number too great to be believed. However, there must have been at least one hundred thousand tents, and from these each of the conquerors takes away what he likes. The townspeople, too, are rushing out to get their share. I believe it will take them eight days to gather in all the booty.

A number of Austrian people — women folk especially — whom the Turkish army had taken captive, but could not carry away with them in their hasty flight, they cut down with their sabers; but many of them can be healed of their wounds.

This morning early I went into the town and found that it could not have held out five days longer. Never have the eyes of men beheld so great damage done in so brief a time; great masses of stone and rock have been broken up and tossed about in heaps by the enemy's mines, and the imperial castle is riddled with holes and ruined by their cannon balls.

I had a long fight against the vizier, because he threw his whole force against my right wing, so that the troops of the left wing had but little to do, and finally left their position and came to my aid. Then (when the victory was won) I was surrounded by the elector of Bavaria, Prince von Waldeck, and many more of the imperial princes, who embraced and kissed me; the generals grasped my hands and feet; the other commanders and officers, with their regiments on horse and on foot, shouted, "Our brave king!" Early this morning came the elector of Saxony and the dukes of Lorraine, who had no chance to speak to me yesterday because their position was on the outermost edge of the left wing. Finally, the governor of Vienna, Count von Stahrenberg, accompanied by a great crowd of people of both high and low degree, came out to greet me, all kissing and petting me and calling me their savior. Later I visited two churches, where again I found crowds of people who tried to kiss my hands, and even my feet and clothing; most of them had to content themselves with touching my coat. All around one heard

them crying, "Let us through to kiss the valorous hand!" Together they lifted up a shout of joy. I begged the German officers to forbid this, but in spite of them a great crowd shouted aloud, "Long live the king!"

There is a huge pile of captured flags and tents; in short, the enemy has departed with nothing whatever but his life. Let Christendom rejoice and thank the Lord our God that he has not permitted the heathen to hold us up to scorn and derision and to ask, "Where, now, is your God?"

IV. The Rise of Prussia

The Great Elector was very anxious to withdraw his province of Prussia from Poland, which still claimed sovereignty over it. He first allied himself with Sweden, and defeated the Poles in the battle of Warsaw (1650). He then deserted Sweden, and allied himself with the Poles, on condition that they should acknowledge his sovereignty over Prussia. Cromwell found time to ask his secretary, John Milton, the poet, to felicitate the Great Elector on his successes.

354. Cromwell presents his respects to the Great Elector (1657).

Most Illustrious Prince; dearest friend and ally:

Whereas your Highness' exceptional ability in both peace and war is already famous throughout the world, and your greatness of spirit and constancy are such as to make all neighboring rulers zealously seek your friendship, since none of them could desire a truer or more faithful friend and ally; so we, in order to prove that we too are among those who hold the highest possible opinion of you and your distinguished services to the Christian Church, have sent to you the noble lord, William Jepson, a colonel, and a member of our upper house, in order that he may convey to you, in our name, our most cordial greetings, our best wishes for a happy termination of all your undertakings, and our especial good will and inclination toward you in all things. We

beg, therefore, that in all his dealings with you you will bestow on him the same faith and confidence as though everything were authorized and approved by us by word of mouth.

The Great Elector, in his anxiety to build up his kingdom, eagerly welcomed the Huguenots when they fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

355. The edict of the Great Elector concerning the Huguenot refugees.

In view of the sympathy which we ought to, and do, feel for our brethren of the reformed evangelical religion in France, who have been driven by persecution to leave their homes and settle in other countries, we, Frederick William, etc., desire by this edict to offer them a free and safe refuge in all our lands and possessions and to specify what rights, privileges, and prerogatives we are graciously minded to grant them. . . .

3. . . . We particularly specify the towns of Stendal, Werben, Rathenow, Brandenburg, and Frankfurt in the electorate of Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Halle, and Calbe in the duchy of Magdeburg, and Königsberg in Prussia, as places where living is cheap and opportunities for trade and other means of support abundant; and we command herewith that when any of the said French people of the reformed evangelical religion make their appearance, they shall be well received in the said towns, and that every opportunity and assistance shall be given them in establishing themselves there. They shall, moreover, be free to establish themselves in any other place in our lands and dominions outside the above-mentioned towns which shall seem to them more convenient for the purposes of their trade or calling.

4. They shall be permitted to bring with them any furniture, merchandise, or other movable property free of all duties or imposts of any kind whatever. . . .

6. In towns or other places where there are unoccupied or waste lands or properties, we ordain that these shall be given over to our said French brethren of the reformed

evangelical religion, free of all and every incumbrance, to hold and enjoy for themselves and their posterity. We further ordain that the necessary materials for the cultivation of these lands shall be furnished them gratis. . . .

7. So soon as any of our said French brethren of the reformed evangelical religion shall have settled themselves in any town or village, they shall be invested, without payment of any kind, with all the rights, benefits, and privileges of citizenship enjoyed or exercised by our subjects who live and were born in said town or village.

8. If any of them shall desire to establish manufactories of cloth, stuffs, hats, or other articles, we will not only bestow on them all the necessary permissions, rights, and privileges, but will further aid them, so far as is in our power, with money and requisite materials.

9. Those who wish to settle in the country shall be given a certain amount of land to cultivate, shall be furnished with the requisite utensils and materials and encouraged in every way, as has been done in the case of certain families who have come from Switzerland to settle in our country.

. . . . . .

11. In every town where our said French brethren in the faith are established, we will support a special preacher and set apart a proper place where they may hold their services in the French language, and with such usages and ceremonies as are customary in the reformed evangelical churches in France.

12. As for the members of the French nobility who have placed themselves under our protection and entered our service, they enjoy the same honors, dignities, and prerogatives as our own subjects of noble birth, and several of them have been given some of the most important offices at our court as well as in our army; and we are graciously disposed to show like favor to all such of the French nobility as may in future present themselves to us.

Given at Potsdam, the 29th of October, 1685.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, Elector.

In a letter addressed to Louis XIV, the pope protests against the arrogance of the successor of the Great Elector in assuming the kingly crown.

356. The pope protests against the assumption of kingship by the elector of Brandenburg (1701).

We, Clement XI, send to our beloved son in Christ our good wishes and apostolic blessing.

Although it is well known to us that your Majesty in no way approves the bad example which has been given to all Christendom by the behavior of Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg, in daring to openly assume the title of king; nevertheless, lest we seem to fail in upholding our office, we cannot pass over this matter in silence; for a non-Catholic person cannot, without affront to the Church, assume the sacred title of king, and the said margrave has not hesitated to call himself king of a part of Prussia which has from of old belonged to the German knights.

Wherefore, in view of this our admonition, we require your Majesty (whose magnanimity is well known to us) to refrain from according to the said margrave the kingly dignity which he has so rashly ventured to assume. Such as he are condemned and cast out by the word of God, which says, "Ye have ruled, but not through me; ye have become princes and I have not known ye."

Our reverend brother, Philip Anthony, archbishop of Athens, will further communicate our views on this matter to your Majesty, to whom, in God's name, we wish all happiness and graciously send our apostolic blessing.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman's ring, the 16th of April, 1701.

The influence of France upon Germany was very marked during the eighteenth century. Frederick the Great wrote almost exclusively in French. The complaints of honest Germans that French manners were corrupting the fatherland go back, however, some decades before Frederick's time. The following characteristic protest belongs to his father's reign.

357. French manners in Germany in the early eighteenth century.

It is, alas, but too plain that since the French devil has come to rule the Germans we have so changed in our way of life, manners, and customs that we deserve to be called, if not naturalized Frenchmen, at least a strange new French-ified people. In the past, Frenchmen have not been greatly esteemed in Germany, but nowadays we cannot live without them; everything must be French, — French speech, French clothes, French music, French diseases, and I fear we 'll come to a French death, for our sins deserve no other. Most of the German courts are ordered on the French plan, and no one can hope to be of any importance in them unless he knows French and especially unless he has been in Paris, that university for the study of every sort of frivolity. . . .

Before our children have mastered any sort of speech, when they are but four or five years old, they are offered up to the French Moloch, introduced to French galantries, and the parents must see about a French teacher and dancing master. In France no one speaks German unless it be some few Germans among themselves; but here with us the use of the French language has become so common that in many places it is even used by the shoemakers and tailors, the servants and the children. . . .

As to clothes, I venture to say that in France itself things are not so bad as here in Germany. The plain truth is that even in Paris I have never seen such variety and frequent changes of fashion in clothes as in Germany. . . . The French cannot devise anything so absurd that the Germans, in imitating it, will not make it still more ridiculous.

V. Frederick the Great and his Father

358. Instructions of Frederick William I for the education of his son. (Condensed.)

Frederick the Great's father gave the following instructions for the education of his son.

. . . Above all else, it is important that his character — and it is character which governs all human action — should be, from earliest youth, so formed that he will love and delight in virtue and feel horror and disgust for vice. Nothing

can so greatly contribute to this end as to implant the true fear of God so early in the young heart that it shall take root and bear fruit in the time when there is no longer any guidance or oversight. For other men are guided toward virtue and away from evil by the rewards and punishments dealt out by those who are set above them, but the prince must rely on the fear of God alone, since he is subject to no human law, punishment, or reward.

My son and all his attendants shall say their prayers on their knees both morning and evening, and after prayers shall read a chapter from the Bible.

He shall be kept away from operas, comedies, and other worldly amusements and, as far as possible, be given a distaste for them. He must be taught to pay proper respect and submission to his parents, but without slavishness.

His tutors must use every means they can devise to restrain him from puffed-up pride and insolence and to train him in good management, economy, and modesty. And since nothing is so harmful as flattery, all those who are about the person of my son are forbidden to indulge in it on pain of my extreme displeasure.

As to the further studies that become a prince, his progress must depend upon his years and growth, but it must be looked to that he is taught the most important things first, and all without inspiring distaste or disgust. As this will depend largely on the adroitness of his preceptor, Duhan, the latter must consult from time to time with the head tutor as to the course to be pursued, which must then be presented to me for my approval.

As for the Latin language, he is not to learn it, and I desire that no one shall ever speak to me on this subject; but his tutors shall see to it that he acquires a terse and elegant style in writing French as well as German. Arithmetic, mathematics, artillery, and agriculture he must be taught thoroughly, ancient history only superficially, but that of our own time and of the last one hundred and fifty years as accurately as possible. He must have a thorough knowledge of law, of international law, of geography, and of what is most

remarkable in each country; and, above all, my son must be carefully taught the history of his own house.

His tutors must take the greatest pains to imbue my son with a sincere love for the soldier's profession and to impress upon him that nothing else in the world can confer upon a prince such fame and honor as the sword, and that he will be despised by all the world if he does not only love it but seek in it his only glory; and his chief tutor shall provide for his being taught the practice of arms as play in his recreation hours.

Nothing is more becoming or more necessary in a prince than the ability to speak well under all circumstances; therefore my son's tutors must look to it that he accustom himself betimes to this art by practice. . . .

The following is a suggestive letter of the crown prince, Frederick, written at the age of sixteen, to his father, Frederick William I.

WUSTERHAUSEN, September 11, 1728.

359. A youthful letter of Frederick the Great to his father.

I have not ventured for a long time to present myself before my dear papa, partly because I was advised against it, but chiefly because I anticipated an even worse reception than usual and feared to vex my dear papa still further by the favor I have now to ask; so I have preferred to put it in writing.

I beg my dear papa that he will be kindly disposed toward me. I do assure him that after long examination of my conscience I do not find the slightest thing with which to reproach myself; but if, against my wish and will, I have vexed my dear papa, I hereby beg most humbly for forgiveness, and hope that my dear papa will give over the fearful hate which has appeared so plainly in his whole behavior and to which I cannot accustom myself. I have always thought hitherto that I had a kind father, but now I see the contrary. However, I will take courage and hope that my dear papa will think this all over and take me again into his favor. Meantime I assure him that I will never, my life

long, willingly fail him, and in spite of his disfavor I am still, with most dutiful and childlike respect, my dear papa's

Most obedient and faithful servant and son,

FREDERICK.

Frederick William replied:

359a. Frederick William's reply.

A bad, obstinate boy, who does not love his father; for when one does one's best, and especially when one loves one's father, one does what he wishes not only when he is standing by but when he is not there to see. Moreover you know very well that I cannot stand an effeminate fellow who has no manly tastes, who cannot ride or shoot (to his shame be it said!), is untidy about his person, and wears his hair curled like a fool instead of cutting it; and that I have condemned all these things a thousand times, and yet there is no sign of improvement. For the rest, haughty, offish as a country lout, conversing with none but a favored few instead of being affable and popular, grimacing like a fool, and never following my wishes out of love for me but only when forced into it, caring for nothing but to have his own way, and thinking nothing else is of any importance. This is my answer.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

VI. FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The Seven Years' War opened disastrously for Frederick the Great. His only ally against all Europe was England. In spite of a victory over the French at Rossbach (November 5, 1757), his situation, which he describes in the following address to his generals, was a very critical one. But so great was his military skill and the valor of the soldiers, whom he inspired with his own fiery confidence, that on December 5 he won the battle of Leuthen against tremendous odds, — a victory which Napoleon declared would alone have entitled him to rank among the greatest generals.

360. Frederick's address to his generals and staff officers, December 3, 1757, before his victory at Leuthen.

You are aware, gentlemen, that Prince Karl of Lorraine has succeeded in taking Schweidnitz, defeating the duke of Bevern and making himself master of Breslau, while I was engaged in checking the advance of the French and imperial forces. A part of Schleswig, my capital, and all the military stores it contained, are lost, and I should feel myself in dire straits indeed if it were not for my unbounded confidence in your courage, your constancy, and your love for the fatherland, which you have proved to me on so many occasions in the past. These services to me and to the fatherland have touched the deepest fibers of my heart. There is hardly one among you who has not distinguished himself by some conspicuous deed of valor, wherefore I flatter myself that in the approaching opportunity also you will not fail in any sacrifice that your country may demand of you.

And this opportunity is close at hand. I should feel that I had accomplished nothing if Austria were left in possession of Schleswig. Let me tell you then that I propose, in defiance of all the rules of the art of war, to attack the army of Prince Karl, three times as large as ours, wherever I find it. It is here no question of the numbers of the enemy nor of the importance of the positions they have occupied; all this I hope to overcome by the devotion of my troops and the careful carrying out of my plans. I must take this step or all will be lost; we must defeat the enemy, else we shall all lie buried under his batteries. So I believe — so I shall act.

Communicate my decision to all the officers of the army; prepare the common soldier for the exertions that are to come, and tell him that I feel justified in expecting unquestioning obedience from him. Remember that you are Prussians and you cannot show yourselves unworthy of that distinction. But if there be one or other among you who fears to share with me any and all danger, he shall at once be given his discharge without reproach from me.

[The solemn silence with which this speech was received and the glow of enthusiasm reflected in the faces of his

hearers convinced Frederick that he had produced the effect he desired. With a gentle smile he continued:]

I was convinced that no one of you would wish to leave me; I count then, absolutely, on your faithful help and on certain victory. Should I not return to reward you for your devotion, the fatherland itself must do it. Return now to camp and repeat to your troops what you have heard from me. [Then, becoming once more the stern ruler, he announces the punishment that awaits the slightest hesitation in following orders.] The regiment of cavalry that does not immediately on the receipt of orders throw itself upon the enemy I will have unmounted immediately after the battle and make it a garrison regiment. The battalion of infantry that even begins to hesitate, no matter what the danger may be, shall lose its flags and its swords and have the gold lace stripped from its uniforms.

And now, gentlemen, farewell; erelong we shall either have defeated the enemy or we shall see each other no more.

Before the end of the long and exhausting war Frederick had met with several crushing reverses, and his resources had dwindled to almost nothing. He writes the following letters, not long before peace was finally concluded, to his trusted French friend, d'Argens.

361. Letter of Frederick the Great written toward the close of the Seven Years' War (August, 1762).

. . . I am obliged to cover Schweidnitz from all sides against this Daun [an Austrian commander], who keeps a dozen subordinates roaming about trying to defeat our plans. This compels me to give unremitting attention to the movements of the enemy and to procuring information. You may infer, therefore, that my poor head is scarcely equal to poetry. That verse that you criticise shall certainly be corrected, — that is nothing; but I beg you to wait till the end of our siege, which so far goes well. I have not the least vanity, I assure you; and I think chance and my troops are responsible for so large a share in the success of my undertakings that I have no mania for dispatching couriers;

nevertheless, if it will give you pleasure, they shall certainly be sent. . . .

For the present I am confining my attention to the operation I have undertaken. There is quite enough to keep a young man busy, but what a life for an old man, worn out and broken down like me, whose memory is beginning to fail and who feels his senses weakening and his force of character declining! There is a fitting time of life for all things. At my age, my dear marquis, books, conversation, a comfortable armchair by the fire, — these are all that remain for me, and then in a few moments the grave.

Farewell, my dear marquis; may you live happily and in tranquillity and not forget me.

Another letter to the same, dated at Bögendorf, September 27, 1762, reads as follows:

362. Frederick declares that he is growing old.

I am so accustomed to reverses and mishaps and I am becoming so indifferent to the events of this world, that things which would formerly have made the most profound impression upon me now glide but lightly over my spirit. I can assure you, my dear marquis, that I have really made some progress in the practice of philosophy. I am growing old, the end of my days draws near, and my spirit is gradually detaching itself from the fleeting spectacle of this world, which I shall leave so soon. The circumstances of the past winter, the revolution in Russia, the perfidy of the English, — what subjects for cultivating one's reason if one but reflects on them! And who would wish to keep low company all one's life in this worst of all possible worlds? I mention only a few of my causes for disgust, but I have had so many during this war that my capacity for feeling is exhausted, and a callus of insensibility and indifference has formed that makes me good for nothing.

I write you naturally, just as I feel. It will pain you a little, but believe me that it is a great relief to unburden one's heart, and consider the situation in which I am placed.

Farewell, my dear marquis; I will write no more this time, and I close with assurances of my sincere friendship.

VII. Frederick the Great's Estimate of German Literature

Frederick always cultivated the society of French men of letters, and his own voluminous works are written in French. He had little respect for the achievements of his own countrymen in literature, although when he wrote the following contemptuous estimate Lessing had finished his work and Goethe was thirty-one years old and had published, beside *Goetz von Berlichingen*, *The Sorrows of Werther*, the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*, and many of his lyrics. Schiller, who was but twenty-one, published his first tragedy the following year.

363. Frederick the Great declares that Germany has no great writers (1780).

You are surprised, sir, that I do not add my voice to yours in applauding the progress which, according to you, German literature is making from day to day. I love our common country as well as you, and for that very reason I abstain from praising it until it has deserved praise. . . .

Let us look for a moment at our country; I hear a jargon spoken which is devoid of every grace, and which each one manipulates according to his own fancy, with no discrimination in the choice of terms, — indeed, the most appropriate and expressive words are wholly neglected, and the real meaning is drowned in a flood of verbiage.

I have been trying to unearth our Homers, our Virgils, our Anacreons, our Horaces, our Demosthenes, our Ciceros, our Thucydides, our Livys; but I find nothing; I might have spared my pains. Let us be sincere and admit frankly that up to this time literature has not flourished on our soil. Germany has had its philosophers who can bear comparison with the ancients, — who have even surpassed them in some respects, — but as to *belles-lettres*, let us confess our poverty. . . .

In order to convince yourself of the bad taste that reigns in Germany, you have only to frequent the theater. There

you will see presented the abominable plays of Shakespeare translated into our language, and the whole audience transported with delight by these absurd farces, fit only for the savages of Canada. I speak of them thus because they sin against every rule of the drama. These rules are not arbitrary: Aristotle in his *Poetics* prescribes the unity of time, of place, and of action as the only possible means of making tragedy interesting.

One may perhaps forgive Shakespeare for his fantastic eccentricities, for one must not expect maturity of the arts at the time of their birth. But now we have a *Goetz von Berlichingen* appearing on the scene, a detestable imitation of those wretched English plays, and the pit applauds it enthusiastically and demands the repetition of its disgusting platitudes. . . .

Progress of literature dependent on the fostering care of royal patrons.

Give us Medicis for rulers and we shall see genius unfold; without an Augustus we cannot have Virgils. We shall yet have our classic authors; every one will wish to read them alike for pleasure and profit; our neighbors will learn German, and our language, polished and perfected by our writers, will be spoken, not in court circles only, but throughout the length and breadth of Europe. This happy time is not yet here, but it approaches. I prophesy that it will come, though I shall not see it; my age forbids that hope. I am like Moses: I see the promised land from afar, but I may not enter it. Pardon me the comparison. I will let Moses alone, — I do not mean to put myself on a level with him in any respect; but as for the "promised land" of our literature, it is far more to be desired than the bleak and arid rocks of the sterile Idumea.

VIII. The Partition of Poland

Maria Theresa was heartily ashamed of her part in the First Partition of Poland. She writes as follows to Archduke Ferdinand, her son, explaining and excusing her course.

LAXENBURG, September 17, [1772].

364. Letter of Maria Theresa on the partition of Poland.

. . . Firmian will receive a lengthy document with instructions in regard to our present situation, our engagements toward Russia, Prussia, and the Turks, but particularly in regard to this unfortunate partition of Poland, which is costing me ten years of my life. It will make plain the whole unhappy history of that affair. How many times have I refused to agree to it! But disaster after disaster heaped upon us by the Turks; misery, famine, and pestilence at home; no hope of assistance either from France or England, and the prospect of being left isolated and threatened with a war both with Russia and Prussia, — it was all these considerations that finally forced me to accede to that unhappy proposal, which will remain a blot on my whole reign. God grant that I be not held responsible for it in the other world! I confess that I cannot keep from talking about this affair. I have taken it so to heart that it poisons and imbitters all my days, which even without that are sad enough. I must stop writing about it at once, or I shall worry myself into the blackest melancholy. . . .

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CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

I. The English go Northeast in Search of Trade

We learn from the following account the reasons why English merchants set forth as early as the reign of Queen Mary in search of trade. Sailing around North Cape, they reached Russia and established communications with that country.[1]

365. The English set out for the northeastern regions in search of trade (1553). (From Hakluyt's *Voyages.*)

At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and wares of England to be in small request with the countries and people about us, and near unto us, and that those merchandises which strangers, in the time and memory of our ancestors, did earnestly seek and desire were now neglected and the price thereof abated, although by us carried to their own ports, and all foreign merchandises in great account and their prices wonderfully raised; certain grave citizens of London, and men of great wisdom, and careful of the good of their country, began to think with themselves how this mischief might be remedied; neither was a remedy (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires for the avoiding of so great an inconvenience; for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portuguese, by the discovery and search of new trades and countries, was marvelously increased, supposing the same to be a course and means for them also to obtain the like, they thereupon resolved upon a new and strange navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabot, a man in those days

[1] See above, pp. 301 *sq.*, for an account of Ivan the Terrible by one of these early explorers.

very renowned, happened to be in London, they began first of all to deal and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three ships should be prepared and furnished out for the search and discovery of the northern part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for travel to new and unknown kingdoms.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to be regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first made choice of certain grave and wise persons in manner of a senate, or company, which should lay their heads together and give their judgments and provide things requisite and profitable for all occasions; by this company it was thought expedient that a certain sum of money should publicly be collected to serve for the furnishing of so many ships. And lest any private man should be too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken that every man willing to be of the society should disburse a portion of twenty and five pounds apiece, so that in a short time by this means, the sum of six thousand pounds being gathered, the three ships were bought, the most part whereof they provided to be newly built and trimmed.

But in this action I wot not whether I may more admire the care of the merchants, or the diligence of the shipwrights; for the merchants, they get very strong and well-seasoned planks for the building; the shipwrights, they, with daily travail and their greatest skill, do fit them for the dispatch of the ships; they calk them, pitch them, and among the rest they make one most stanch and firm, by an excellent and ingenious invention. For they had heard that in certain parts of the ocean a kind of worm is bred which many times pierceth and eateth through the strongest oak that is, and therefore that the mariners and the rest to be employed in this voyage might be free and safe from this danger, they cover a piece of the keel of the ship with thin sheets of lead; and having thus built the ships, and furnished them with armor and artillery, then followed a second care no less troublesome and necessary than the former, namely,

the provision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage.

And whereas they afore determined to have the east part of the world sailed unto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the northern track, where as yet it was doubtful whether there were any passage, yea or no, they resolved to victual the ships for eighteen months, which they did for this reason: for our men being to pass that huge and cold part of the world, they, wisely foreseeing it, allow them six months' victual to sail to the place, so much more to remain there, if the extremity of the winter hindered their return, and so much more also for the time of their coming home.

II. How the English got a Foothold in India

Toward fifty years after the English had discovered Russia they began to turn their attention to India, and in 1601 the East India Company was chartered. In 1614 Sir Thomas Roe was instructed by James I to visit the court of Jehangir, the Mongol emperor of Hindustan. Sir Thomas was to arrange a commercial treaty and to secure for the East India Company sites for commercial agencies, — "factories," as they were called. Sir Thomas was successful, and Jehangir sent the following remarkably polite letter to James I.

366. Letter of the Great Mogul to James I welcoming English traders.

When your Majesty shall open this letter let your royal heart be as fresh as a sweet garden. Let all people make reverence at your gate; let your throne be advanced higher; amongst the greatness of the kings of the prophet Jesus, let your Majesty be the greatest, and all monarchies derive their counsel and wisdom from your breast as from a fountain, that the law of the majesty of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection.

The letter of love and friendship which you sent and the presents, tokens of your good affection toward me, I have

received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe (who well deserveth to be your trusted servant), delivered to me in an acceptable and happy hour; upon which mine eyes were so fixed that I could not easily remove them to any other object, and have accepted them with great joy and delight.

Upon which assurance of your royal love I have given my general command to all the kingdoms and ports of my dominions to receive all the merchants of the English nation as the subjects of my friend; that in what place soever they choose to live, they may have reception and residence to their own content and safety; and what goods soever they desire to sell or buy, they may have free liberty without any restraint; and at what port soever they shall arrive, that neither Portugal nor any other shall dare to molest their quiet; and in what city soever they shall have residence, I have commanded all my governors and captains to give them freedom answerable to their own desires; to sell, buy, and to transport into their country at their pleasure.

For confirmation of our love and friendship, I desire your Majesty to command your merchants to bring in their ships of all sorts of rarities and rich goods fit for my palace; and that you be pleased to send me your royal letters by every opportunity, that I may rejoice in your health and prosperous affairs; that our friendship may be interchanged and eternal.

Your Majesty is learned and quick-sighted as a prophet, and can conceive so much by few words that I need write no more.

The God of heaven give you and us increase of honor.

367. A Frenchman's account of hostility of the Dutch to English traders (1617).

The English naturally got into trouble immediately with the Dutch traders in the East Indies. There is probably another side to the story which follows.

A relation of the Frenchmen which lately arrived into France in a ship of Dieppe out of the East Indies concerning the wrongs and abuses which the Hollanders had lately done to the English there (1617):

Two English ships coming to Banda, in course of trade and traffic, the Hollanders assaulted with certain of their

ships, which English ships in their resistance and defense the said Hollanders took, slew seven or eight of their men (whereof one was a chief factor), chained the captain, merchants, and mariners, and put the mariners into their galleys. All the munition and victuals in the said English ships did the Hollanders take out and carried the same ashore, challenging all to be theirs as their proper inheritance, and therefore will be lords of the same.

The Hollanders likewise took an English bark going from Bantam[1] to Jacatra, slew some of her men, wounded many more, chained the captain and mariners, and carried away the said bark at the stern of one of their ships into Bantam Road, and there anchored close by the admiral of the English in most despiteful and daring manner, making their vaunts that they were the chief people of all Europe; and to make a show of the same they advanced their own arms and colors, and under them placed the colors of England and France, and then shot at the said English and French colors in most contemptuous and disdainful manner.

At Bantam the English and Hollanders had great disputes, insomuch as it was verily thought they would have fought together in the road, for the general of the Hollanders had brought thither fourteen great ships, ready to fight, where the English had nine, which they fitted for defense; but they fought not, for the governor of Bantam forbade them to fight in his road, and threatened them that if they did fight contrary to his command he would cut the throats of all their men that he should find upon the land.

The 27th of November the Hollanders proclaimed war against all the English at the Mulluccoes, Banda, and Amboyna, threatening to make one and all prize and to put them to the edge of the sword; which proclamation of theirs they fixed upon the doors of their lodgings at Bantam, challenging all to be theirs as their proper inheritance.

[1] Bantam was originally the chief settlement of the Dutch in Java, near the Strait of Sunda, somewhat to the west of the present important port of Batavia.

III. Condition of India before the English Conquest

In 1655 a Frenchman, François Bernier, made a journey to Hindustan, and there became the court physician of the Great Mogul. He wrote an account of his journey and a number of letters. A letter addressed to Colbert, which gives an admirable description of the state of India and the relations of the Great Mogul to the subject princes and peoples, is included in the following extract.

368. India under the later Moguls. (From Bernier.)

He who reigned there was called Chah-Jehan, — that is to say, king of the world; who, according to the history of that country, was son of Jehan-Guyre, which signifieth conqueror of the world; grandchild to Ekbar, which is great; and thus ascending by Houmayons, or the fortunate, father of Ekbar, and his other predecessors, he was the

The Moguls claim to be descended from Timur.

tenth of those that were descended from that Timur-Lengue, which signifieth the lame prince, commonly and corruptly called Tamerlane, so renowned for his conquests; who married his near kinswoman, the only daughter of the prince of the nations of Great Tartary, called Moguls, who have left and communicated their name to the strangers that now govern *Indostan*, the country of the Indians; though those that are employed in public charges and offices, and even those that are listed in the militia, be not all of the race of the Moguls, but strangers and nations gathered out of all countries, most of them Persians, some Arabians, and some Turks. For, to be esteemed a Mogul it is enough to be a stranger, white of face, and a Mohammedan; in distinction as well to the Indians, who are brown and pagans, as to the Christians of Europe, who are called Franguis. . . .

From a letter of Bernier's to Colbert.

My lord, you may have seen before this, by the maps of Asia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogul, which is commonly called India or Indostan.

I have not measured it mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the country, after the rate of three whole months' march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golconda as far as beyond Kazni near Kandahar, which is the first town of Persia, I cannot but persuade myself otherwise but that it is at least five times as far as from Paris to Lyons, — that is, about five hundred common leagues. . . . Extent of Hindustan

In this same extent of country there are sundry nations which the Mogul is not full master of, most of them still retaining their particular sovereigns and lords that neither obey him nor pay him tribute but from constraint; many that do little, some that do nothing at all, and some also that receive tribute from him. . . . Tributary peoples.

Such are the Pathans, a Mohammedan people issued from the side of the river Ganges toward Bengal, who before the invasion of the Moguls in India had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at Delhi, and to render many rajahs thereabout their tributaries. These Pathans are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be but waiting men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say, by way of swearing, "Let me never be king of Delhi, if it be not so"; a people that despise the Indians, heathens, and Moguls, and mortally hate the last, still remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither. . . . The haughty Mohammedan Pathans.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred rajahs, or considerable heathen sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, others remote from, Agra and Delhi; amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant; such are Rana (who formerly was, as it were, emperor of the rajahs, and who is said to be of the progeny of King Porus), Jesseigne, and Jessomseigne, who are so great and powerful that if they three alone should combine they would hold him [i.e. the Great Mogul] back; each of them being able in a very short time to raise and bring into The rajahs.

the field twenty-five thousand horse, better troops than the Mogul's. These cavaliers are called rajipous, or children of the rajahs. These are men who, as I have said elsewhere, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the rajahs allot land on condition that they be always ready to appear on horseback when the rajah commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing but good order and discipline to make them good soldiers. . . .

The Mogul is obliged to keep these rajahs in his service for sundry reasons: the first, because the militia of the rajahs is very good (as was said above) and because there are rajahs (as was intimated also) any one of whom can bring into the field above twenty-five thousand men; the second, the better to bridle the other rajahs and to reduce them to reason, when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay tribute, or when, out of fear or other cause, they will not leave their country to serve in the army when the Mogul requireth it; the third, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness among them, by favoring and caressing one more than the other, which is done to that degree that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

Aurangzeb, who died in 1707, was the last Great Mogul of importance. He saw in his old age that anarchy was likely to come when he was gone, and his farewell to this vain world is sad indeed. He thus writes to a friend:

369. Aurangzeb forecasts the dissolution of the Mogul's empire.

Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age is arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, or for what I am destined. The instant which has passed in power hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience), but his glorious light was unseen by my dim sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed

breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me; but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. . . . The camp and followers, helpless and frightened, are like myself, full of alarms, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and, except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet, regarding my actions, fear will not quit me; but when I am gone reflection will not remain. Come then what may, I have launched my vessel in the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet, regarding appearances, the endeavors of my sons are indispensable. Give my last prayers to my grandson, whom I cannot see, but the desire affects me. The Began [his daughter] appears afflicted; but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

IV. How England established her Control over India

370. The "Black Hole" of Calcutta (June 20, 1756).

It was the cruel treatment of the English settlers at Calcutta by the officers of the subahdar at Bengal that led Clive to hasten northward, where he gained his memorable victory over the subahdar at Plassey. An officer of the East India Company then in India thus describes the episode of the "Black Hole," which indicates the dangers to which the English merchants were subjected.

The principal officer [of the nabob] commanded the prisoners to go into one of the rooms which stood behind them along the veranda. This was the common dungeon of the garrison, who used to call it the "Black Hole." Many of the prisoners, knowing the place, began to expostulate; upon

which the officer ordered his men to cut down those who hesitated, on which the prisoners obeyed. But before all were within, the room was so thronged that the last entered with difficulty. The guard immediately closed and locked the door, confining one hundred and forty-six persons in a room not twenty feet square, with only two small windows, and these obstructed by the veranda.

It was the hottest season of the year, and the night uncommonly sultry even at this season. The excessive pressure of their bodies against one another and the intolerable heat which prevailed as soon as the door was shut, convinced the prisoners that it was impossible to live through the night in this horrible confinement; and violent attempts were immediately made to force the door, but without effect, for it opened inward; on which many began to give a loose to rage. . . .

The first effect of their confinement was a profuse and continued sweat, which soon produced intolerable thirst, succeeded by excruciating pains in the breast, with difficulty of breathing little short of suffocation. Various means were tried to obtain more room and more air. Every one stripped off his clothes; every hat was put in motion; and these methods affording no relief, it was proposed that they should all sit down on their hams at the same time, and after remaining a little while in this posture rise all together. This fatal expedient was thrice repeated before they had been confined an hour; and every time several, unable to rear themselves up again, fell and were trampled to death by their companions.

Attempts were again made to force the door, which, failing as before, redoubled their rage; but the thirst increasing, nothing but "Water! water!" became soon after the general cry. The good *jemautdar* immediately ordered some skins of water to be brought to the windows; but instead of relief, his benevolence became a more dreadful cause of destruction; for the sight of the water threw every one into such excessive agitations and ravings that, unable to resist this violent impulse of nature, none could wait to be regularly served, but each with the utmost ferocity battled

against those who were likely to get it before him; and in these conflicts many were either pressed to death by the efforts of others or suffocated by their own. . . .

Before midnight all who were alive and had not partaken of the air at the windows were either in a lethargic stupefaction or raving with delirium. Every kind of invective and abuse was uttered in hopes of provoking the guard to put an end to their miseries by firing into the dungeon; and whilst some were blaspheming the Creator with the frantic execrations of torment and despair, Heaven was implored by others with wild and incoherent prayers; until the weaker, exhausted by these agitations, at length laid down quietly and expired on the bodies of their dead or agonizing friends. . . .

All regards of compassion and affection were lost, and no one would recede or give way for the relief of another. Faintness sometimes gave short pauses of quiet, but the first motion of any one renewed the struggle through all, under which ever and anon some one sunk to rise no more. At two o'clock not more than fifty remained alive. But even this number were too many to partake of the saving air, the contest for which and for life continued until the morn, long implored, began to break. . . .

An officer, sent by the nabob, came and inquired if the English chief still survived; and soon after the same man returned with an order to open the prison. The dead were so thronged, and the survivors had so little strength remaining, that they were employed near half an hour in removing the bodies which lay against the door before they could clear a passage to go out one at a time; when of one hundred and forty-six who went in no more than twenty-three came out alive, — the ghastliest forms that were ever seen alive.

The following extract is from a letter by Clive describing his famous victory at Plassey, north of Calcutta. This battle completely demonstrated the inability of native armies to cope with Europeans, and marked the

beginning of British control in Bengal. According to his account, Clive had about one thousand Europeans, two thousand Sepoys, and eight pieces of cannon.

371. Clive's own account of his victory at Plassey (June 23, 1757).

At daybreak we discovered the nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon the enemy drew off their artillery and retired to their camp. . . .

On finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced fieldpieces played so warmly and so well upon them that they were always driven back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction; by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss; though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty French and two pieces of cannon; and the former by a large body of blacks, both horse and foot. On this a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackeries (carts) and carriages filled with baggage of all

kinds. . . . It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks.

For a hundred years after the battle of Plassey the English steadily extended their power, but in 1857 the terrible mutiny broke out in which the native troops (Sepoys) turned upon their masters. After a fierce struggle the English put down the revolt and banished the last Mogul, who had become a mere figurehead. An English officer who witnessed the mutiny thus describes the conditions which the English faced in extending their control over the motley hordes of India.

372. Review of the English progress in India from 1757 to 1857. (By Lieutenant-General Innes.)

The great convulsion known as the Indian Mutiny broke out in May, 1857, consequent directly on the excitement and ill feeling engendered in the Bengal army by the well-known cartridge incident.[1] Any such military outbreak would naturally cause much civil disturbance and find numerous supporters outside the army, but the wide range and virulence of the general commotion that ensued were exceptional, and the rising was throughout marked by a variety of phases and by singular episodes, for which the disaffection of the troops and the cartridge incident do not of themselves adequately account. . . .

Up to the year 1856, the year before the outbreak, there had been for a whole century a continuous, aggressive advance of the British power, till it completed the ring fence of the empire by the annexation of Oude. During all that time it had either been engaged in actual conflict or had been forming dominant relations with the several races of the country, and had reduced them one after another to subjection; some provinces being brought under its direct administration and others being left as feudatory or vassal states under their native rulers. At the start the old Mogul

[1] The troops objected, on religious grounds, to handling a cartridge smeared with animal grease.

dominion had been in a hopeless state of decay, leading to all the horrors of internecine war, and some of the native principalities had gladly turned for safety to the shelter of English protection and supremacy. But the great mass of the people had been brought under our rule by conquest or forcible annexation.

With ruling dynasties thus set aside, reduced, or crushed, with great races humiliated, and bitterness and misery spread broadcast by the loss of power and place and property, it would be an outrage on common sense to doubt that we had created a host of enemies. . . . The benefits of civilized rule, of the *Pax Britannica*, were felt only skin deep, and the old fierce instincts, the outcome of centuries of strife and oppression, were still in the ascendant. The memory of injuries was still keen and vivid, the newer cases helping to recall the old ones to mind, and to reopen sores that might otherwise have been getting healed; so that, briefly, the mood and temper which prevailed were those of a conquered people who had wrongs and humiliations to remember, and were chafing at having to endure the sway of aliens in race and creed. There existed, in fact, under the best circumstances, a mass of constant disaffection, and whole hosts of malcontents.

Of these the most powerful and dangerous were the Mussulmans. The entire Mohammedan population were as a body rebels at heart, and resented the Christian supremacy, if only on religious grounds and from fanatical pride; and the Moguls of the Upper Provinces had in addition a natural longing to revive their old predominance and restore their old empire.

Next may be mentioned the Mahrattas, a warlike and unscrupulous Hindu race, who, though now split up into rival states, had been most powerful as a confederacy, and felt that but for the British they would have been the masters of India.

Another extensive body of malcontents consisted of those who were actual sufferers from British conquests or annexation or from the action of British land policy.

And a fourth group, especially dangerous from their spirit and energy, was formed by those who fretted at the closing of those outlets for ambition, and the loss of those opportunities for aggrandizement, through political intrigue or military prowess, that had been current of old.

Such a mass of disaffection, however latent or suppressed, was obviously a standing menace to the tranquillity of the country, constituting a solid basis, and providing a powerful agency for the rousing of evil passions and the promotion of seditious enterprise, — a sure factor in any movement or question involving the peace or security of the state.

V. The Jesuits in North America

The spirit of the Jesuit explorers is clearly to be seen in Father Marquette's account of his discovery of the Mississippi River in 1673.

373. How Marquette descended the Mississippi River in 1673.

The feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin — whom I have always invoked since I have been in this country of the Outaouacs to obtain from God the grace of being able to visit the nations who dwell along the Mississippi River — was precisely the day on which Monsieur Joliet arrived with orders to accomplish this discovery with me. . . . We were not long in preparing all our equipment, although we were about to begin a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions. With these we embarked — Monsieur Joliet and myself with five men — in two bark canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an undertaking.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth day of May, 1673, we started from the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimakinac, where I then was. The joy that we felt at being selected for this expedition animated our courage and rendered the labor of paddling from morning to night agreeable to us. And because we were going to seek unknown countries we took every precaution in our power, so that if our undertaking

were hazardous it should not be foolhardy. To that end we obtained all the information that we could from the savages who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a map of the whole of that new country. On it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the course of the Great River, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it. . . .

With all these precautions, we joyfully plied our paddles on a portion of Lake Huron and on that of the Illinois [i.e. Lake Michigan] and on the Bay des Puants [i.e. Green Bay]. The first nation that we came to was that of the "Wild Oats." I entered their river to go and visit these peoples, to whom we have preached the gospel for several years, — in consequence of which there are several good Christians among them. . . .

I told these peoples of the "Wild Oats" of my design to go and discover those remote nations in order to teach them the mysteries of our holy religion. They were greatly surprised to hear it, and did their best to dissuade me. They represented to me that I would meet nations who never show mercy to strangers, but break their heads without cause; and that war was kindled between various peoples who dwelt upon our route, which exposed us to the further manifest danger of being killed by the bands of warriors who are ever in the field. They also said that the Great River was very dangerous for one who does not know the difficult places; that it was full of horrible monsters which devoured men and canoes together; that there was even a demon who was heard from a great distance, who barred the way and swallowed up all who ventured to approach him; finally, the heat was so excessive that it would inevitably cause our death.

I thanked them for the good advice they gave me, but told them that I could not follow it because the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I would be delighted to give my life. . . . Embarking then in our canoes, we arrived shortly afterward at the bottom of the Bay des Puants, where

our fathers labor successfully for the conversion of these people, over two thousand of whom they have baptized while they have been there.

They leave Green Bay for the Wisconsin River.

. . . We left this bay to enter the river that discharges into it. It is very beautiful at its mouth and flows gently. It is full of bustards, ducks, teal, and other birds, attracted thither by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. But after ascending the river a short distance it becomes very difficult of passage on account of both the currents and the sharp rocks, which cut the canoes and the feet of those who are obliged to drag them, especially when the waters are low. . . . We continued to advance toward the Maskoutens, where we arrived on the 7th of June.

Here we are at Maskoutens. This word may, in Algonquin, mean the "Fire Nation,"—which, indeed, is the name given to this tribe. Here is the limit of the discoveries which the French have made, for they have not yet gone any farther. . . . I was greatly consoled at seeing a handsome cross erected in the middle of the village and adorned with many white skins, red belts, bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the great Manitou (this is the name which they give to God). They did this to thank him for having pity on them during the winter by giving them an abundance of game when they most dreaded famine. . . .

On the following day, the 10th of June, two Miamis, who were given us as guides, embarked with us in the sight of a great crowd, who could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of seven Frenchmen alone in two canoes daring to undertake so extraordinary and so hazardous an expedition.

We knew that at three leagues from Maskoutens was a river which discharged into the Mississippi. We knew also that the direction we were to follow in order to reach it was west-southwesterly. But the road is broken by so many swamps and small lakes that it is easy to lose one's way, especially as the river leading thither is so full of wild oats that it is difficult to find the channel. For this reason we greatly needed our two guides, who safely conducted us to a portage

of twenty-seven hundred paces and helped us to transport our canoes to enter that river. After which they returned home, leaving us alone in this unknown country in the hands of Providence. Thus we left the waters flowing to Quebec, four hundred or five hundred leagues from here, to float on those that would henceforth take us through strange lands. . . .

They reach the Mississippi.

The river on which we embarked is called the Meskousing [i.e. Wisconsin]. It is very wide. It has a sandy bottom, which forms various shoals that render its navigation very difficult. . . . After proceeding forty leagues on this same route, we arrived at the mouth of our river, and at 42½ degrees of latitude we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June with a joy that I cannot express.

Here we are, then, on this renowned river, all of whose peculiar features I have endeavored to note carefully. The Mississippi River takes its rise in various lakes in the country of the northern nations. . . . We gently followed its course, which runs toward the south and southeast, as far as the 42d degree of latitude. . . . From time to time we came upon monstrous fish, one of which struck our canoe with such violence that I thought that it was a great tree about to break the canoe in pieces. On another occasion we saw on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose like that of a wild-cat, with whiskers and straight, erect ears. The head was gray and the neck quite black. But we saw no more creatures of this sort. . . . When we reached the parallel of 41 degrees 28 minutes, following the same direction, we found that turkeys had taken the place of game and the pisikious or wild cattle [i.e. buffaloes] that of the other animals.

We call them "wild cattle" because they are very similar to our domestic cattle. They are not longer, but are nearly as large again and more corpulent. When our people killed one, three persons had much difficulty in moving it. . . . Their heavy coat falls off in summer and the skin becomes as soft as velvet. At that season the savages use the hides for making fine robes, which they paint in various colors. . . .

Marquette visits the Illinois.

Finally, on the 25th of June, we perceived on the water's edge soft tracks of men and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie. We stopped to examine it, and thinking that it was a road which led to some village of savages, we resolved to go and reconnoiter it. We therefore left our two canoes under the guard of our people, strictly charging them not to allow themselves to be surprised, after which Monsieur Joliet and I undertook this investigation,— a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves alone to the mercy of a barbarous and unknown people. [The savages received us kindly, having probably recognized us as Frenchmen, especially when they saw our black gowns.] I spoke to them and asked them who they were. They replied that they were Illinois, and as a token of peace they offered us their pipes to smoke. They afterward invited us to enter their village, where all the people impatiently awaited us. These pipes for smoking are called in this country "calumets." This word has come so much into use that in order to be understood I shall be obliged to use it, as I shall often have to mention these pipes. . . .

When one speaks the word "Illinois," it is as if one said in their language "the men," — as if the other savages were looked upon by them merely as animals. It must also be admitted that they have an air of humanity which we have not observed in the other nations that we have seen upon our route. . . . We take leave of our Illinois at the end of June about three o'clock in the afternoon. We embark in the sight of all the people, who admire our little canoes, for they have never seen any like them. . . .

Strange pictures on the rocks near Alton.

While skirting some rocks which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not long rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales. . . .

While we were conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm water, we heard the noise of a rapid

They reach the mouth of the Missouri.

into which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches, and floating islands was issuing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui [i.e. Missouri] with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear. The Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size coming from the northwest, from a great distance, and it discharges into the Mississippi. There are many villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the Vermilion or California Sea. . . .

(Condensed.)

After escaping as best we could the dangerous rapid, we proceeded south. After a long journey we reached the large village of Akamsea [Arkansas]. In the evening the elders held a secret council in regard to the design entertained by some to break our heads and rob us; but the chief put a stop to all these plots. After sending for us he danced the calumet before us as a token of our entire safety, and to relieve us of all fear he made me a present of it.

Reasons for discontinuing the descent of the Mississippi.

Monsieur Joliet and I held another council to deliberate upon what we should do, — whether we should push on, or remain content with the discovery which we had made. After attentively considering that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees and 60 minutes, while we were at 33 degrees 40 minutes, we judged that we could not be more than two or three days' journey from it, and that beyond a doubt the Mississippi River discharges into the Florida or Mexican gulf, and not to the east in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34 degrees of latitude, — which we had passed without, however, having as yet reached the sea, — or to the west in California, because in that case our route would have been to the west or the west-southwest, whereas we had always continued it toward the south. We further considered that we exposed ourselves to the risk of losing the results of this voyage, of which we could give no information if we proceeded to fling ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who, without doubt, would at least have detained us as captives. Moreover we saw

very plainly that we were not in a condition to resist savages allied to the Europeans, who were numerous and expert in firing guns, and who continually infested the lower part of the river. Finally, we had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery. All these reasons induced us to decide upon returning; this we announced to the savages, and after a day's rest made our preparations for it. . . .

We therefore reascend the Mississippi, which gives us much trouble in breasting its currents. It is true that we leave it at about the 38th degree, which greatly shortens our road and takes us with but little effort to the lake of the Illinois. . . . One of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men, escorted us to the lake of the Illinois, whence at last, at the end of September, we reached the Bay des Puants, from which we had started the beginning of June.

VI. The Settlements in New England and Pennsylvania

William Hubbard, who came to New England as a youth and graduated at Harvard College in 1642, thus speaks in his *General History of New England* of the motives which led the colonists to leave their native land.[1]

374. A rather unsympathetic estimate of the New England colonists.

Discoveries of the north parts of Virginia, being bruited abroad amongst the western country of Europe, no doubt filled the minds of many with expectations of famous plantations likely erelong to be erected in those parts of the New World. . . . About this time a strange impression was left upon the minds of some religious and well-affected persons of the English nation sojourning in a foreign country, that some place in that remote region might be found out far more convenient for their purpose, that seemed studious for reformation, than hitherto they elsewhere either had or were

[1] See above, pp. 225 *sq.*

like to attain unto, under the wings of a foreign state. Which consideration, forasmuch as it gave the first rise to the flourishing plantations of New England, since erected, we shall, in the first place, take a little notice of the occasion that led thereunto.

Notwithstanding the bright and clear rays of the gospel light that began to dawn and diffuse themselves throughout the whole hemisphere of the English nation, promising an hopeful day of reformation to arise upon them after the long night of antichristian darkness, in the glorious reign of our English Josiah, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth of blessed and famous memory, yet were not all that had opportunity to sit under the shadow of their royal authority so well satisfied with every part of that so happy and hopeful reformation by them begun as to rest contented, without strenuous endeavors to shape and mold the business of church discipline more to the primitive pattern.

Therefore sundry of them, having wearied themselves with their private contrivements all the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and finding little hope of bettering their condition under her successor, resolved to try if change of air would not afford a remedy to the distemper at last, to their grievances and burdens they labored under at home. Divers, therefore, of that persuasion that had about the year 1602 entered into a private covenant, first in the north of England, then in the Netherlands anno 1610, to walk with God and one with another, according to the best and primitive patterns (as they conceived) of the word of God, finding the low and watery situations of that country as unwholesome and infectious to their bodies and national views of the place dangerous for their minds, by reason of bad example, as that of their own country uncomfortable for their purses and estates: by reason of opposition, they at last projected the transporting themselves and their families into America.

Here follows William Penn's letter to Robert Turner concerning the grant of the province of Pennsylvania from Charles II (1681).

Dear Friend:

375. How Penn received his grant from King Charles II (1681).

My true love in the Lord salutes thee and dear Friends that love the Lord's precious Truth in those parts. Thine I have; and for my business here, know that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, this day my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania; a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country; but Penn being Welsh for a head, as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, [the king] called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to have it New Wales, Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the undersecretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was to my father, whom he often mentions with praise. Thou mayest communicate my grant to Friends, and expect shortly my proposals.

It is a clear and just thing, and my God that has given it me through many difficulties will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first. No more now, but dear love in the Truth.

Thy true Friend,

William Penn.

VII. English Views of the Revolt of the American Colonies

The elder Pitt thus spoke in the House of Commons, January 20, 1775, on the growing difficulties between the king and his American colonies.

376. Pitt on the question of withdrawing the English troops from Boston (January, 1775).

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen; it was obvious from the nature of things and of mankind, and, above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its legs, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.

This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded chains and sordid affluence, and who will die in the defense of their rights as men, as free men. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation, but they tax themselves. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow; it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of the several parts and combine them into effect for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation, for it does not exist in that relation; there is no such thing, no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property. Let this distinction then remain forever ascertained: taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as

an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property, — a right which they are justified in the defense of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic and on this. "'Tis liberty to liberty engaged," that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied: it is the alliance of God and nature, — immovable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven.

Four years later, however, George III still saw no reason for not stubbornly continuing the attempt to hold the rebellious colonies at any cost.

377. Letter of George III to Lord North on the necessity of subduing the American colonies (June 11, 1779).

I should think it the greatest instance among the many I have met with of ingratitude and injustice, if it could be supposed that any man in my dominions more ardently desired the restoration of peace and solid happiness in every part of this empire than I do; there is no personal sacrifice I could not readily yield for so desirable an object; but at the same time no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into what I look upon as the destruction of the empire. I have heard Lord North frequently drop that the advantages to be gained by this contest could never repay the expense; I own that, let any war be ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the expenses, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the state, enriched individuals, and perhaps raised the name only of the conquerors. But this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter: it is necessary for those in the station it has pleased Divine Providence to place me to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what might be more ruinous to a country than the loss of money.

The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which any country was ever engaged.

It contains such a train of consequences that they must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it, I should suppose no man could allege that, without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object; that certainly is one which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace, must concur with me in thinking that this country can never submit to.

Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow them, — not independence, but must for its own interest be dependent upon North America. Ireland would soon follow the same plan and be a separate state; then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed, for, reduced in her trade, merchants would retire with their wealth to climates more to their advantage, and shoals of manufacturers would leave this country for the new empire.

These self-evident consequences are not worse than what can arise should the Almighty permit every event to turn out to our disadvantage; consequently this country has but one sensible, one great line to follow, — the being ever ready to make peace when to be obtained without submitting to terms that in their consequence must annihilate this empire, and with firmness to make every effort to deserve success.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. The Ancien Régime

Necker's daughter, the gifted Madame de Staël, in her *Observations on the French Revolution* (published in 1818), skillfully sums up the general character of the French government before 1789.

378. Uncertainty and confusion of the Ancien Régime. (From Madame de Staël.)

Among all the kingdoms of modern times France has certainly been the most arbitrary and unsettled in its political institutions. Perhaps the successive annexations of the various provinces by the crown is one reason for this. Each province brought with it its own customs and particular claims; the government skillfully played off the old provinces against the new, and only gradually did the country become a unit.

Be this as it may, there has been no law, however fundamental, which has not been questioned at some period. There has been nothing which has not been viewed in the most diverse ways. Were the kings the lawgivers of the realm, or no? Might they raise taxes of their free will, or were the Estates General the representatives of the people, to whom alone belonged the right to grant subsidies? And how should the Estates General be composed? Could the privileged orders, who had two votes out of the three, be regarded as separate nations, who voted their taxes separately, and might therefore withhold their aid, and so leave the people to bear the burden of the necessary contributions to the state?

What were, precisely, the privileges of the clergy, who sometimes declared themselves independent of the king, sometimes

of the pope? What were exactly the prerogatives of the nobles, who sometimes, and as late as the minority of Louis XIV, believed themselves entitled to enforce their rights by arms and by alliances with foreign powers; sometimes, on the other hand, acknowledged the king to be absolute? What should be the status of the third estate, emancipated by the kings from serfdom, admitted to the Estates General by Philip the Fair, and yet condemned to be always in the minority; since it was given but one vote out of three, and its grievances, presented to the king on its knees, were without any assured influence?

Position of the three estates of the realm.

What degree of political power rightly belonged to the *parlements*, which at one time declared that they had no other duties than to administer justice, and at another proclaimed that they were Estates General in miniature, — that is, the representatives of the representatives of the people? These same *parlements* did not recognize the jurisdiction of the intendants who administered the provinces in the king's name. The king's ministers questioned the right claimed by the *pays d'états*[1] to approve new taxes in their respective provinces.

The *parlements*.

The history of France would furnish a mass of other examples of this want of fixity in the least, as well as in the greatest, matters; but it will suffice to cite some of the deplorable results of this absence of rules. Persons accused of state offenses were almost always deprived of their natural judges, and some of them passed their whole lives in prison, where the government had sent them on its own authority without trial. A code of terror was maintained for the Protestants, and cruel punishments and torture continued to exist until the Revolution.

Arbitrary imprisonment by *lettres de cachet* had begun to excite the indignation of the courts before the Revolution, as the following case shows. The collection of certain taxes was, for the sake of convenience, turned

Arbitrary imprisonment.

[1] Namely, those provinces which retained their ancient provincial assemblies of the three orders.

over by the French government to a company of financiers called the "farmers general." These men and their agents were commonly disliked for obvious reasons. Toward the end of Louis XV's reign the agents of the "farm" obtained a *lettre de cachet* for the imprisonment of an unfortunate individual whom they mistook for another man of the same name. When the prisoner was released he brought suit against the "farmers," who were condemned to pay heavy damages. They applied, however, to the king's council, which annulled the decision; whereupon the court which had decided the case laid a solemn "protest" before the king denouncing the whole system of arbitrary imprisonment.

379. Protest of a French court of law against *lettres de cachet* (1770).

Sire:

Your Court of Excises,[1] having been impeded in the administration of justice by illegal acts which cannot have emanated from your Majesty personally, have determined that a very humble and very respectful protest should be made to you concerning the matter. . . .

Certain agents of the "farm" arrested an individual named Monnerat without observing any of the restrictions imposed by law. Shortly afterwards an order from your Majesty was produced in virtue of which the man was taken to the prison of Bicêtre and held there for twenty months. Yet it is not the excessive length of the imprisonment that should most deeply touch your Majesty. There exist in the fortress of Bicêtre subterranean dungeons which were dug long ago to receive certain famous criminals who, after having been condemned to death, saved themselves by exposing their accomplices. It would seem that they were condemned to a life which would have made death the preferable alternative.

[1] This court (*cour des aides*), as well as the *parlements*, often sent protests to the king, criticising the policy of his ministers and council. The protests were frequently printed, and so served to rouse and cultivate public opinion.

While it was desired that their cells should be absolutely dark, it was necessary to admit enough air to sustain life. Accordingly hollow pillars were constructed which established some connection with the outer air without letting in any light. The victims that are cast into these damp cells, which necessarily become foul after a few days, are fastened to the wall by a heavy chain and are supplied with nothing but a little straw, and bread and water. Your Majesty will find it difficult to believe that a man simply *suspected* of smuggling should be kept in such a place of horror for more than a month.

According to the testimony of Monnerat himself, and the deposition of a witness, it appears that after emerging from his subterranean cell, which he calls "the black dungeon," he was kept for a long time in another less dark. This precaution was taken for the welfare of the prisoner, since experience has shown — perhaps at the cost of a number of lives — that it is dangerous to pass too suddenly from the black dungeon to the open air and the light of day.

Monnerat, upon being released from prison, brought suit for damages against the farmers general. Up to that point the question was one of an individual. But the arrest was illegal in form and the imprisonment a real injustice. If this man was a smuggler, he should have been punished according to the laws, which are very severe in this matter. But when your Majesty grants an order for the imprisonment of one suspected of smuggling, it is not your intention to have the suspected person kept in confinement for nearly two years waiting for proofs of his guilt. Now Monnerat has always maintained, both during and since his imprisonment, that he was not even the person for whom the order was obtained. . . .

According to the prevailing system, whenever the farmer of the revenue has no proof of smuggling except such as the courts would regard as suspicious and insufficient, he resorts to your Majesty's orders, called *lettres de cachet*, in order to punish the offense. . . .

[By means of these arbitrary orders the most sacred rights are violated, and the victim has no means of learning who is (Condensed.)

his persecutor. If any one who is able to impose upon your Majesty and procure a *lettre de cachet* is to be shielded from the courts,] how indeed can we be said to live to-day under any laws, sire, since such orders have prodigiously increased of late and are granted for all sorts of reasons and for personal considerations? Formerly they were reserved for affairs of state, and then, sire, it was proper that the courts should respect the necessary secrecy of your administration. Subsequently these orders began to be granted in certain interesting cases, as, for example, when the sovereign was touched by the tears of a family which dreaded disgrace.[1] To-day they are considered necessary every time a common man offers any slight to a person of consideration,—as if persons of quality had not enough advantages already. It is also the usual form of punishment for indiscreet remarks. . . .

These orders signed by your Majesty are often filled in with obscure names of which your Majesty cannot possibly have heard. They are at the disposal of your ministers, and it would appear, in view of the great number which are issued, of their clerks as well. They are confided to officials in both the capital and the provinces, who make use of them in accordance with the suggestions of their subdelegates and other subordinates. They doubtless find their way into many other hands, since we have just seen how readily they are granted to a simple farmer general or even, we may safely add, to the agents of the farm. . . .

The result is, sire, that no citizen in your kingdom can be assured that his liberty will not be sacrificed to a private grudge; for no one is so exalted that he is safe from the ill will of a minister, or so insignificant that he may not incur that of a clerk in the employ of the farm. The day will come, sire, when the multiplicity of the abuses of the *lettres de cachet* will lead your Majesty to abolish a custom so opposed to the constitution of your kingdom and the liberty which your subjects should enjoy.

[1] This refers to the imprisonment of unruly sons or other relatives who were compromising a respectable family by their conduct.

Of the hunting rights and royal preserves (*capitaineries*) a celebrated English traveler gives a good account.

380. The hunting preserves in France. (From Arthur Young's *Travels.*)

The *capitaineries* were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts granted by the king to princes of the blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie* was an annihilation of all manorial rights to game within it. This was a trifling business in comparison to other circumstances; for in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries* it must be observed that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering at pleasure over the whole country, to the destruction of crops, and to the peopling of the galleys by wretched peasants who presumed to kill them in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children.

The game in the *capitainerie* of Montceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 livres per annum. No wonder then that we should find the people asking, "We loudly demand the destruction of all the *capitaineries* and of all the various kinds of game." And what are we to think of demanding as a favor the permission "to thresh their grain, mow their fields, and take away the stubble without regard to the partridge or other game"?[1] Now an English reader will scarcely understand without being told that there were numerous edicts for preserving the game, which prohibited weeding and hoeing lest the young partridges should be disturbed, steeping seed lest it should injure the game, . . . mowing hay, etc., before a certain time so late as to spoil many crops; and taking away the stubble which would deprive the birds of shelter.

[1] These complaints are from the *cahiers* drawn up for the Estates General in 1789. See *History of Western Europe*, pp. 562 *sq.* (Vol. II, pp. 210 *sq.*). For the abolition of the hunting rights see below, p. 407.

II. Accession of Louis XVI; Marie Antoinette

Louis XV died of smallpox May 10, 1774. Marie Antoinette, now become queen at eighteen, writes to her mother as follows:

Choisy, May 14, 1774.

Madame, my very dear mother:

381. Marie Antoinette reports to her mother that she is now a queen.

Count Mercy[1] has doubtless informed you of the details of our misfortune. Happily his cruel malady left the king fully conscious to the last moment, and his end was very edifying. The new king seems to have gained the heart of the people. Two days before his grandfather's death he had two hundred thousand francs distributed to the poor, which produced a fine effect. Since the late king's death he has worked constantly, and replies with his own hand to the ministers, whom he is not able to see yet, and to many other letters. One thing is certain; he has a taste for economy, and his greatest anxiety is to make his people happy. In short, his eagerness to learn is equal to his need of information, and I trust that God will bless his good will.

Madame du Barry sent to a convent.

The public are looking for many changes just now. But the king has confined himself to sending away that creature to a convent and driving from court all connected with her. The king owed this example to the people of Versailles, who at the time of the catastrophe attacked Madame de Mazarin, one of the most humble domestics of the favorite. I am often urged to preach clemency to the king toward a number of corrupt souls who have been up to much evil during the last few years. . . .

They have just come to forbid me to visit my Aunt Adelaide, who has a high fever and pain in her loins; they fear smallpox. I tremble and dare not think of the consequences. It is terrible for her to pay so speedily for the sacrifice she has made [in nursing the late king]. I am delighted that

[1] The ambassador of the empire, whom Maria Theresa had selected as the special adviser of her young daughter when she went to France.

Marshal Lascy was pleased with me. I confess, dear mamma, that I was much affected when he took leave of me, as I thought how rarely it happened that I saw people of my own country, particularly those who have the additional happiness of approaching you. . . .

The king has left me, as queen, free to fill the vacant positions in my household. I took pleasure in according a mark of attention to the people of Lorraine by selecting Abbé Sabran as my first almoner, — an upright man of exalted birth and already appointed to the bishopric of Nancy, which has just been created.

Although it pleased God to cause me to be born to the station I occupy to-day, I cannot but wonder at the dispensation of Providence, who chose me, the youngest of your children, for the finest kingdom of Europe. I feel more than ever all that I owe to the affection of my august mother, who has been at such pains and trouble to secure this beautiful position for me. I have never so longed to be able to throw myself at her feet, kiss her, show her my whole soul, and let her see how it is filled with respect, love, and gratitude. . . .

[*The king here adds in his own hand:*]

I am very glad to have an opportunity, my dear mamma, to express my love and attachment. I would that I might have your advice in these days which are so full of embarrassment. I should be delighted to be able to satisfy you, and to prove in that way the affection and gratitude that I owe you for granting me your daughter, with whom I could not be better satisfied.

[*The queen then closes:*]

The king would not let my letter go without adding a word for himself. I am sensible that he might have been expected to write a letter of his own, but I beg that my dear mamma will excuse him in view of the great number of things he has to occupy him and also a little on account of his natural timidity and shyness. You can see, dear mamma, by what he says at the end, that while he is fond enough of me he does not spoil me with insipid compliments.

In a letter dated May 15, 1776, Marie Antoinette writes to her mother: "Monsieur de Malesherbes retired from the ministry day before yesterday and was immediately replaced by Monsieur Amelot. Monsieur Turgot was dismissed the same day, and Monsieur de Clugny is to take his place. I confess, dear mamma, that I do not regret the departure of these men, but I had nothing to do with it." Maria Theresa replies with a characteristic warning:

382. Maria Theresa warns her daughter of the dangers of levity and dissipation.

. . . I am very glad that you had nothing to do with the dismissal of the two ministers, who enjoy a high reputation with the public at large and who, in my opinion, have only erred in attempting to do too much at once. You say that you do not regret them. Doubtless you have good reasons; but of late the public no longer praises you as it did, and attributes to you all sorts of little intrigues which would be most unfitting to your station. The king loves you and his ministers should respect you. By asking for nothing contrary to the established order and general welfare, you will make yourself both loved and respected.

My only fear for you (being so young) is an excess of dissipation. You have never cared to read or to apply yourself in any way; this has often troubled me, and accounts for my having tormented you so often with inquiries as to what you were reading. I was so pleased to see you devoting yourself to music. But for a year now there has been no question of either reading or music, and I hear of nothing but racing and hunting, and always without the king and with a lot of ill-chosen young people; all this troubles me very much, loving you, as I do, so dearly. Your sisters-in-law behave very differently, and I must own that all these boisterous diversions in which the king takes no part appear to me unseemly. You will say, "He knows and approves of them." I reply that he is kind and good and that that is all the more reason that you should be circumspect and arrange your pleasures together.

In February of the following year a projected visit of the Emperor Joseph II to Paris seemed likely to be abandoned. His mother, Maria Theresa, who had great hopes of happy results from it, both personal and political, writes to Marie Antoinette as follows:

VIENNA, February 3, 1777.

382a. Maria Theresa urges the necessity of a close alliance between France and Austria.

. . . As I desire nothing else in this world but the good of our holy religion, the happiness of my dear, and more than dear, children, the welfare of our states, and the felicity of our peoples, whom I love just as sincerely as my children, so I long to see not only our houses and our interests bound together closely and indissolubly, as indeed they already are, but a cordial personal friendship as well, which will bear every test and which no minister or other envious power shall ever be able to change or diminish. The emperor and the king are both so young, and both have such good and generous hearts, that I believe my hopes to be well founded if only they can learn to know each other and establish that mutual confidence which will be so useful and so necessary to them in their political careers, for their own happiness and that of their countries, — indeed, for all Europe.

These reflections of a doting old mother and sovereign have led me to send off new instructions to Mercy, directing him to furnish you with information and arrange with you as to the policy to be adopted toward your ministers. There are matters of the highest importance which I can only touch upon in passing. The quarrels between the Turks and the Russians and between Spain and Portugal, as well as the war in America, may well bring about a general conflagration into which I shall be drawn in spite of myself; particularly as it is necessary to act with the greatest caution on account of our bad neighbor,[1] whose persistent enmity toward us is greatly increased since we have ventured to oppose his unjust designs in Poland and elsewhere. He is performing the impossible in the effort to frustrate, or at least to weaken,

[1] Namely, Frederick the Great of Prussia.

our influence in all the courts of Europe; he sticks at no calumny, and especially in France, and it is this that makes me doubly regret that the interview between Joseph II and Louis XVI has not taken place. The delight of the king of Prussia is a sure sign of the importance he attached to it, and should serve to unite us all the closer, for united neither he nor any one dare molest us.

I cannot conceal from you that scandal has not spared you personally, and I have mentioned to Mercy several darts of slander that have long disquieted me in regard to your amusments, games, excursions; that you were on bad terms with the king, — that you no longer share his bed, but want to sit up all night playing cards, which the king does not like; that you were alarmed at the prospect of your brother's visit, — that you did not in the least desire it, and that you are now delighted to be left free to pursue your pleasures. Such are the tales that are sent out from Berlin to Saxony, Poland, everywhere; and I confess that for several months they have caused me increasing dismay. My only consolation is that, as atrocious slanders are promulgated about the emperor and myself, it must be the same with you; but, my dear daughter, the newspapers but confirm these accounts of the various amusements in which my dear queen joins without her sisters-in-law or the king, and they give me many sad hours. I love you so tenderly that I cannot but look ahead into the future, and I entreat you to do the same.

III. The French intervene in the American Revolution

No doubt the influence of the American Revolution upon French affairs has commonly been much exaggerated, since there is every reason to suppose that the example of the colonists did not really modify essentially the trend of affairs in France toward reform. The course of events can be readily explained even if the American war be quite eliminated from consideration.

Yet the embarrassment of the treasury which resulted from France's intervention in the war, and the liberal ideas which it suggested to some of the nobility, may have hastened the French Revolution. The count of Ségur, looking back long years after the events he narrates, thus describes the intervention of France in the struggle of the American colonists.

383. How France became interested in the American Revolution. (From the *Mémoires* of Ségur.)

At this time liberty, which had been hushed in the civilized world for so many centuries, awoke in another hemisphere and engaged in a glorious struggle against an ancient monarchy which enjoyed the most redoubtable power. England, confident of its strength, had subsidized and dispatched forty thousand men to America to stifle this liberty in its cradle; but a whole nation which longs for freedom is scarce to be vanquished.

The bravery of these new republicans won esteem in all parts of Europe and enlisted the sympathies of the friends of justice and humanity. The young men especially, who although brought up in the midst of monarchies had by a singular anomaly been nurtured in admiration for the great writers of antiquity and the heroes of Greece and Rome, carried to the point of enthusiasm the interest which the American insurrection inspired in them.

The French government, which desired the weakening of the power of England, was gradually drawn on by this liberal opinion, which showed itself in so energetic a manner. At first it secretly furnished arms, munitions, and money to the Americans, or permitted supplies to reach them by French ships; but it was too weak to venture to declare itself openly in their favor, affecting on the contrary an appearance of strict neutrality and so far blinding itself as to imagine that its secret measures would not be suspected, and that it might ruin its rival without incurring the danger of meeting it in the open field. Such an illusion could not last long, and the English cabinet was too clear-sighted to let us gain the advantages of a war without incurring any of its risks.

The veil became more and more transparent daily. Soon the American envoys, Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, arrived in Paris, and shortly after the famous Benjamin Franklin joined them. It would be difficult to express the enthusiasm and favor with which they were welcomed in France, into the midst of an old monarchy, — these envoys of a people in insurrection against their king. Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the luxury of our capital, the elegance of our fashions, the magnificence of Versailles, the polished but haughty arrogance of our nobles, — in short all those living signs of the monarchical pride of Louis XIV, — with the almost rustic dress, the simple if proud demeanor, the frank, direct speech, the plain, unpowdered hair, and, finally, that flavor of antiquity which seemed to bring suddenly within our walls and into the midst of the soft and servile civilization of the seventeenth century these sage contemporaries of Plato, or republicans of Cato's or Fabius' time.

This unexpected sight delighted us the more both because it was novel and because it came at just the period when our literature and philosophy had spread everywhere among us a desire for reform, a leaning toward innovation, and a lively love for liberty. The clash of arms served to excite still more the ardor of war-loving young men, since the deliberate caution of our ministers irritated us, and we were weary of a long peace which had lasted more than ten years. Every one was burning with a desire to repay the affronts of the last war, to fight the English, and to fly to the succor of the Americans. . . .

The young French officers, who breathed nothing but war, hastened to the American envoys, questioned them upon the situation, the resources of Congress, the means of defense, and demanded all the various bits of news which were constantly being received from that great theater where freedom was fighting so valiantly against British tyranny. . . . Silas Deane and Arthur Lee did not disguise the fact that the aid of some well-trained officers would be both agreeable and useful. They even informed us that they were authorized to

promise to those who would embrace their cause a rank appropriate to their services.

The American troops already included in their ranks several European volunteers whom the love of glory and independence had attracted. . . . The first three Frenchmen of distinguished rank at court who offered the aid of their service to the Americans were the marquis of Lafayette, the viscount of Noailles, and myself.

IV. The People of France

384. Extracts from Arthur Young's travels.

Of all the descriptions that we have of the general condition of the French people upon the eve of the Revolution, the most important and interesting is Arthur Young's account of his travels in France during the years 1787, 1788, and 1789. Young was an honest and observant English gentleman farmer, whose aim was to ascertain "the cultivation, wealth, resources, and national prosperity" of France, which were, as he foresaw, to be fundamentally changed by the Revolution then under way. His book, first published in 1792, met with immediate success, and still fascinates even the casual reader.

In 1787 Arthur Young visited Paris and Versailles, then traveled southward as far as the Pyrenees. Of Versailles and the capital he says:

Impressions of Versailles and its gardens.

Again to Versailles. In viewing the king's apartment, which he had not left a quarter of an hour, with those slight traits of disorder that showed he *lived* in it, it was amusing to see the blackguard figures that were walking uncontrolled about the palace, and even in his bedchamber; men whose rags betrayed them to be in the last stage of poverty, and I was the only person that stared and wondered how the devil they got there. It is impossible not to like this careless indifference and freedom from suspicion. One loves the master of the house, who would not be hurt or offended

at seeing his apartment thus occupied if he returned suddenly, for if there was danger of this the intrusion would be prevented. This is certainly a feature of that *good temper* which appears to me so visible everywhere in France. I desired to see the queen's apartments, but I could not. "Is her Majesty in it?" "No." "Why then not see it as well as the king's?" "Ma foi, Monsieur, c'est une autre chose."

Ramble through the gardens, and by the grand canal, with absolute astonishment at the exaggerations of writers and travelers. There is magnificence in the quarter of the orangery, but no beauty anywhere; there are some statues good enough to wish them under cover. The extent and breadth of the canal are nothing to the eye, and it is not in such good repair as a farmer's horse pond. The menagerie is well enough, but nothing great.

Condition of the streets of Paris in 1787.

This great city [Paris] appears to be in many respects the most ineligible and inconvenient for the residence of a person of small fortune of any that I have seen, and vastly inferior to London. The streets are very narrow, and many of them crowded, nine tenths dirty, and all without foot pavements. Walking, which in London is so pleasant and so clean that ladies do it every day, is here a toil and a fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman. The coaches are numerous, and, what is much worse, there are an infinity of one-horse cabriolets, which are driven by young men of fashion and their imitators, alike fools, with such rapidity as to be real nuisances, and render the streets exceedingly dangerous, without an incessant caution. I saw a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myself many times blackened with the mud of the kennels. This beggarly practice, of driving a one-horse booby hutch about the streets of a great capital, flows either from poverty or wretched and despicable economy; nor is it possible to speak of it with too much severity. If young noblemen at London were to drive their chaises in streets without footways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would speedily and justly get very well threshed or rolled in the kennel. This circumstance renders Paris an

ineligible residence for persons, particularly families that cannot afford to keep a coach, — a convenience which is as dear as at London. The fiacres — hackney coaches — are much worse than at that city; and chairs there are none, for they would be driven down in the streets. To this circumstance also it is owing that all persons of small or moderate fortune are forced to dress in black, with black stockings.

After a stay of three months, Young finds himself in the southern confines of the kingdom.

Young's impressions of Béarn.

[*August 11.*] Take the road to Lourdes, where is a castle on a rock, garrisoned for the mere purpose of keeping state prisoners sent hither by *lettres de cachet.* Seven or eight are known to be here at present; thirty have been here at a time; and many for life, — torn by the relentless hand of jealous tyranny from the bosom of domestic comfort; from wives, children, friends, and hurried for crimes unknown to themselves — more probably for virtues — to languish in this detested abode of misery, and die of despair. O liberty! liberty! And yet this is the mildest government of any considerable country in Europe, our own excepted. The dispensations of Providence seem to have permitted the human race to exist only as the prey of tyrants, as it has made pigeons for the prey of hawks. . . .

[*The 12th.*] Pau is a considerable town, that has a parliament and a linen manufacture; but it is more famous for being the birthplace of Henry IV. I viewed the castle, and was shown, as all travelers are, the room in which that amiable prince was born, and the cradle — the shell of a tortoise — in which he was nursed. What an effect on posterity have great and distinguished talents! This is a considerable town, but I question whether anything would ever carry a stranger to it but its possessing the cradle of a favorite character.

Take the road to Moneng [Monein] and come presently to a scene which was so new to me in France that I could

hardly believe my own eyes. A succession of many well-built, tight, and comfortable farming cottages, built of stone and covered with tiles; each having its little garden, inclosed by clipped thorn hedges, with plenty of peach and other fruit trees, some fine oaks scattered in the hedges, and young trees nursed up with so much care that nothing but the fostering attention of the owner could effect anything like it. To every house belongs a farm, perfectly well inclosed, with grass borders mown and neatly kept around the cornfields, with gates to pass from one inclosure to another. The men are all dressed with red caps, like the highlanders of Scotland. There are some parts of England (where small yeomen still remain) that resemble this country of Béarn; but we have very little that is equal to what I have seen in this ride of twelve miles from Pau to Moneng. It is all in the hands of little proprietors, without the farms being so small as to occasion a vicious and miserable population. An air of neatness, warmth, and comfort breathes over the whole. It is visible in their new-built houses and stables, in their little gardens, in their hedges, in the courts before their doors, even in the coops for their poultry and the sties for their hogs. A peasant does not think of rendering his pig comfortable if his own happiness hangs by the thread of a nine years' lease. We are now in Béarn, within a few miles of the cradle of Henry IV. Do they inherit these blessings from that good prince? The benignant genius of that good monarch seems to reign still over the country; each peasant has the fowl in the pot. . . .

[*The 13th.*] The agreeable scene of yesterday continues: many small properties, and every appearance of rural happiness.

In September, 1788, Young found himself in Brittany.

Brittany.

To Combourg. The country has a savage aspect; husbandry not much further advanced, at least in skill, than among the Hurons, which appears incredible amidst inclosures. The people almost as wild as their country, and their town of Combourg one of the most brutal, filthy places that

can be seen; mud houses, no windows, and a pavement so broken as to impede all passengers, but ease none. Yet here is a chateau, and inhabited. Who is this Monsieur de Chateaubriant, the owner, that has nerves strung for a residence amidst such filth and poverty? . . .

To Montauban. The poor people seem poor indeed; the children terribly ragged, — if possible, worse clad than if with no clothes at all; as to shoes and stockings, they are luxuries. A beautiful girl of six or seven years playing with a stick, and smiling under such a bundle of rags as made my heart ache to see her. They did not beg, and when I gave them anything seemed more surprised than obliged. One third of what I have seen of this province seems uncultivated, and nearly all of it in misery. What have kings, and ministers, and parliaments, and states to answer for their prejudices, seeing millions of hands that would be industrious idle and starving through the execrable maxims of despotism, or the equally detestable prejudices of a feudal nobility. Sleep at the *Lion d'Or*, at Montauban, an abominable hole.

Young was in Paris during the early sessions of the Estates General in 1789.[1] On June 28 he left the capital to visit the eastern and southeastern provinces.

Lack of news in the provinces.

[*July 4.*] To Chateau Thiery, following the course of the Marne. The country is pleasantly varied, and hilly enough to render it a constant picture, were it inclosed. Thiery is beautifully situated on the same river. I arrived there by five o'clock, and wished, in a period so interesting to France and indeed to all Europe, to see a newspaper. I asked for a coffee-house, — not one in the town. Here are two parishes and some thousands of inhabitants, and not a newspaper to be seen by a traveler, even in a moment when all ought to be in anxiety. What stupidity, poverty, and want of circulation! This people hardly deserve to be free; and should there be the least attempt with vigor to keep them otherwise,

[1] See below, pp. 402 *sqq.*

it can hardly fail of succeeding. To those who have been used to travel amidst the energetic and rapid circulation of wealth, animation, and intelligence of England, it is not possible to describe in words adequate to one's feelings the dullness and stupidity of France. I have been to-day on one of their greatest roads, within thirty miles of Paris, yet I have not seen one diligence, and met but a single gentleman's carriage, nor anything else on the road that looked like a gentleman.

Feudal dues.

[*July 12.*] Walking up a long hill to ease my mare, I was joined by a poor woman, who complained of the times, and that it was a sad country. Demanding her reasons, she said her husband had but a morsel of land, one cow, and a poor little horse, yet they had a franchar (forty-two pounds) of wheat and three chickens to pay as a quitrent to one seigneur; and four franchar of oats, one chicken, and one franc to pay to another, besides very heavy tailles and other taxes. She had seven children, and the cow's milk helped to make the soup. "But why, instead of a horse, do not you keep another cow?" Oh, her husband could not carry his produce so well without a horse; and asses are little used in the country. It was said, at present, that something was to be done by some great folks for such poor ones, but she did not know who nor how, but God send us better, *car les tailles et les droits nous écrasent.*

This woman, at no great distance, might have been taken for sixty or seventy, her figure was so bent and her face so furrowed and hardened by labor, but she said she was only twenty-eight. An Englishman who has not traveled cannot imagine the figure made by infinitely the greater part of the country women in France; it speaks, at the first sight, hard and severe labor. I am inclined to think that they work harder than the men, and this, united with the more miserable labor of bringing a new race of slaves into the world, destroys absolutely all symmetry of person and every feminine appearance. To what are we to attribute this difference in the manners of the lower people in the two kingdoms? To government. . . .

Thomas Jefferson was also traveling in France just before the Revolution He writes from Nice to a friend, April 11, 1787:

385. Jefferson finds less misery in France than he expected.

In the great cities I go to see what travelers think alone worthy of being seen; but I make a job of it and generally gulp it all down in a day. On the other hand, I am never satiated with rambling through the fields and farms, examining the culture and cultivators with a degree of curiosity which makes some take me for a fool, and others to be much wiser than I am. I have been pleased to find among the people a less degree of physical misery than I had expected. They are generally well clothed and have a plenty of food, — not animal, indeed, but vegetable, which is just as wholesome. Perhaps they are overworked, the excess of the rent required by the landlord obliging them to too many hours of labor in order to produce that and wherewith to feed and clothe themselves. The soil of Burgundy and Champagne I have found more universally good than I had expected; and as I could not help making a comparison with England, I found that comparison more unfavorable to the latter than is generally admitted. The soil, the climate, and the productions are superior to those of England, and the husbandry as good except in one point, that of manure.

From the first olive fields of Pierrelatte to the orangeries of Hieres has been continued rapture to me. I have often wished for you. I think you have not made this journey. It is a pleasure you have to come, and an improvement you have to add to the many you have already made. It will be a great comfort for you to know, from your own inspection, the condition of all the provinces of your own country, and it will be interesting to them at some future day to be known to you. This is perhaps the only moment of your life in which you can acquire that knowledge. And to do it most effectually you must be absolutely incognito; you must ferret the people out of their hovels, as I have done, look into their kettles, eat their bread, loll on their beds under pretense of resting yourself, but in fact to find if they are soft. You will

feel a sublime pleasure in the course of this investigation, and a sublimer one hereafter, when you shall be able to apply your knowledge to the softening of their beds or the throwing a morsel of meat into their kettle of vegetables.

V. Voltaire and Rousseau

In his famous *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, a little volume of essays on a variety of themes, published anonymously in 1764, Voltaire gives under the word "law" his ideas of the reform demanded in church and state. It will be noted that he seems here to have no quarrel with religion, but only with what he regards as the encroachments of the clergy on the rights of the state.

386. Voltaire's views of the relation of church and state.

No law made by the Church should ever have the least force unless expressly sanctioned by the government. It was owing to this precaution that Athens and Rome escaped all religious quarrels.

Such religious quarrels are the trait of barbarous nations or such as have become barbarous.

The civil magistrate alone may permit or prohibit labor on religious festivals, since it is not the function of the priest to forbid men to cultivate their fields.

Civil marriage.

Everything relating to marriage should depend entirely upon the civil magistrate. The priests should confine themselves to the august function of blessing the union.

The Church's regulations regarding usury.

Lending money at interest should be regulated entirely by the civil law, since trade is governed by civil law.

All ecclesiastics should be subject in every case to the government, since they are subjects of the state.

Payment of annates to the pope.

Never should the ridiculous and shameful custom be maintained of paying to a foreign priest the first year's revenue of land given to a priest by his fellow-citizens.

No priest can deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that the citizen is a sinner, since the priest — himself a sinner — should pray for other sinners, not judge them.

Officials, laborers, and priests should all alike pay the taxes of the state, since they all alike belong to the state. All should pay taxes.

There should be but one standard of weights and measures and one system of law. Uniformity

Let the punishment of criminals be useful. A man when hanged is good for nothing: a man condemned to hard labor continues to serve his country and furnish a living lesson.

Every law should be clear, uniform, and precise. To interpret law is almost always to corrupt it.

Nothing should be regarded as infamous except vice.

The taxes should never be otherwise than proportional to the resources of him who pays.

Voltaire's mingling of jest and earnest is generally apparent in his discussion of theological matters. Like Erasmus, he felt that the fine distinctions made by the divines often obscured the main issue. Under "grace" he writes as follows:

387. Voltaire on grace.

Ye sacred counselors of modern Rome, ye illustrious and infallible theologians, no one has more respect than I for your opinions. But were Paulus Æmilius, Scipio, Cato, Cicero, Cæsar, Titus, Trajan, or Marcus Aurelius to return to that Rome upon which they formerly cast some little glory, you will admit that they would be somewhat startled at your decisions respecting grace. What would they say if they should hear of St. Thomas' grace of health and of Cajetan's medicinal grace; of external and internal, free, sanctifying, actual, habitual, and coöperating grace; of effectual grace which is sometimes without effect; of sufficing grace which is often insufficient; of versatile and congruous grace? Would they, in good faith, understand these any better than you and I do?

How completely at a loss would these poor people be without your exalted instruction. I seem to hear them say: "Reverend fathers, what stupendous genius is yours! We have been accustomed to think — absurdly enough, as it appears — that the Eternal Being never follows special

laws, as we lowly human creatures must, but his own general laws, eternal like himself. It never occurred to any of us that God was like a crazy master who gave a fortune to one slave and refused another his necessary food. . . .

"Everything from God is grace; he has conferred his grace on the globe we dwell upon by forming it; upon the trees the grace to grow; upon the beasts that of finding food. But if one wolf finds a lamb in his way to make a good meal of, and another wolf is famishing, shall we say that God has shown his special grace to the first wolf? Has he by 'preventing' grace been busied in causing one oak to grow preferably to another? . . .

"How pitiable to suppose that God is continually making, unmaking, and remaking sentiments in us, and what presumption to think that we are different in this respect from all other beings! Moreover it is only for those who go to confession that all these changes are imagined. A Savoyard or a man from Bergamo shall on Monday have grace to have a mass said for twelve sous; Tuesday grace will fail him and he will go to the tavern; on Wednesday he will have coöperating grace which will send him away to confession, but without the efficacious grace of perpetual contrition; Thursday it may be a 'sufficient' grace which will prove insufficient. God will be continually at work in the head of this man of Bergamo, sometimes strongly, sometimes weakly, without minding any other thing upon earth and without caring what becomes of the inside of Indians or Chinese. . . .

"You miserable creatures! Lift up your eyes to the heavens: see the Eternal Artificer creating millions of worlds all gravitating toward one another by general and eternal laws! Behold the same light reflected from the sun to Saturn and from Saturn to us; and amidst this harmony of so many luminous bodies in a course as amazing as swift, amidst this general obedience of all nature, I defy you to believe that God is occupied with conferring versatile grace on Sister Theresa and concomitant grace on Sister Agnes." . . .

These, it must be remembered, are Marcus Aurelius' words, not mine; for God, who inspires you, has given me grace to believe all that you say, or have said, or shall say.

Among Rousseau's writings the most permanently influential is his *Émile, or Education*.[1] This opens with his protest against the artificiality of the civilization which he saw about him, and his oft-repeated exhortation to return to nature as the safest guide.

388. Rousseau's summons to turn back to nature.

All things are good as their Author made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. By man our native soil is forced to nourish plants brought from foreign regions, and one tree is made to bear the fruit of another. Man brings about a general confusion of elements, climates, and seasons; he mutilates his dogs, his horses, and his slaves; he defaces and confounds everything, and seems to delight only in monsters and deformity. He is not content with anything as Nature left it, not even with man, whom he must train for his service like a saddle horse, and twist in his own particular way like a tree in his garden.

Yet without this interference matters would be still worse than they are, for our species cannot remain half made over. As things now are, a man left to himself from his birth would, in his association with others, prove the most preposterous creature possible. The prejudices, authority, necessity, and example, and, in short, the vicious social institutions in which we find ourselves submerged, would stifle everything natural in him and yet give him nothing in return. He would be like a shrub which has sprung up by accident in the middle of the highway to perish by being thrust this way and that and trampled upon by passers-by. . . .

To form this rare creature, man, what have we to do? Much, doubtless, but chiefly to prevent anything being done. . . . In the natural order of things, all men being equal, their

[1] There is an abridged translation by W. H. Payne of this interesting work issued, in the International Educational Series (Appleton, 1893), in one volume.

common vocation is manhood, and whoever is well trained for that cannot fulfill any vocation badly which demands manhood. Whether my pupil be destined for the army, the church, or the bar, concerns me but little. Before he is called to the career chosen by his parents, Nature summons him to the duties of human life. To live is the trade I wish to teach him. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudices; all our customs are but suggestion, anxiety, and constraint. Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery. At his birth he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin; and as long as he preserves the human form he is fettered by our institutions. It is said that nurses sometimes claim to give the infant's head a better form by kneading it, and we permit them to do this! It would appear that our heads were badly fashioned by the Author of Nature, and that they need to be made over outwardly by the midwife and inwardly by philosophers! The Caribbeans are more fortunate than we by half. . . . Observe Nature and follow the path she traces for you!

Rousseau closes his *Social Contract* with a chapter on "civil religion." Roman Catholic Christianity he regarded as very noxious to the state: even the Christianity that he discovered in the Gospels, which he professes to admire, did not, he believed, help to make good citizens, but rather the contrary.

389. Rousseau's deistic religion.

Christianity is a purely spiritual religion, occupied solely with heavenly things; the country of a Christian is not of this world. He does his duty, it is true, but he does it with a profound indifference as to the good or ill success of his efforts. Provided he has nothing to reproach himself with, it matters little to him whether things go well or ill here below. If the state is flourishing, he scarcely dares enjoy the public felicity; he fears to become proud of the glory of his country. If the state degenerates, he blesses the hand of God which lies heavy upon his people. . . .

Should the depository of this [political] power abuse it, he regards this abuse as the rod with which God punishes his children. People would have scruples about driving out the usurper: it would be necessary to disturb the public repose, to use violence, to shed blood; all this accords ill with the gentleness of the Christian, and, after all, what matters it whether one is a slave or free in this vale of misery? The essential thing is to go to paradise, and resignation is but one more means to accomplish it.

Should some foreign war supervene, the citizens march to combat without difficulty. None among them think of flying; they do their duty, but without passion for victory; they know better how to die than to win. Whether they are victors or vanquished, what matters it? Does not Providence know better than they what they need? . . .

But I am in error in speaking of a Christian republic; each of these words excludes the other. Christianity preaches only servitude and dependence. Its spirit is too favorable to tyranny not to be taken advantage of by it. Christians are made to be slaves: they know it and do not care; this short life has too little value in their eyes. . . .

There is, however, a profession of faith purely civil, of which it is the sovereign's [i.e. the people's] duty to decide upon the articles, not precisely as dogmas of religion, but as sentiments of sociality without which it is impossible to be a good citizen or a faithful subject. Without being able to oblige any one to believe them, the sovereign can banish from the state whoever does not believe them; the sovereign should banish him, not as impious, but as unsocial, as incapable of loving law and justice sincerely, and of sacrificing at need his life to his duty. If any one, having publicly acknowledged these dogmas, conducts himself as if he did not acknowledge them, he should be punished with death; he has committed the greatest of crimes, — he has lied before the law.

The dogmas of civil religion should be simple, few in number, announced with precision, without explanation or commentary. The existence of a powerful, intelligent, benevolent, prescient, and provident Divinity, the life to come, the

happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked, the sacredness of the social contract and the law, — these are the positive dogmas.

Danger of intolerance.

As to the negative dogmas, I limit them to one, — intolerance: it enters into the religions which we have excluded. Those who make a distinction between civil intolerance and theological intolerance deceive themselves, to my mind. These two intolerances are inseparable. It is impossible to live in peace with people whom one believes to be damned; to love them is to hate God, who punishes them; they must be redeemed or else tortured. Wherever theological intolerance is admitted, it must have some civil effects; and as soon as it has them the sovereign is no more a sovereign, even in temporal matters. From that time priests are the true masters; kings are but their officers.

VI. Turgot and Necker

Turgot, immediately after learning from Louis XVI that he had been appointed comptroller general, wrote the following touching letter to that inefficient young monarch, who was so ready to desert him a few months later.

Sire: Compiègne, August 24, 1774.

390. Turgot's letter to the king upon assuming office (August, 1774).

Having just come from the private interview with which your Majesty has honored me, still full of the anxiety produced by the immensity of the duties now imposed upon me, agitated by all the feelings excited by the touching kindness with which you have encouraged me, I hasten to convey to you my respectful gratitude and the devotion of my whole life.

Your Majesty has been good enough to permit me to place on record the engagement you have taken upon you to sustain me in the execution of those plans of economy which are at all times, and to-day more than ever, an indispensable

necessity. . . . At this moment, sire, I confine myself to recalling to you these three items:

No bankruptcy.

No increase of taxes.

No loans.

No *bankruptcy*, either avowed or disguised by illegal reductions.

No *increase of taxes;* the reason for this lying in the condition of your people, and, still more, in that of your Majesty's own generous heart.

No *loans;* because every loan always diminishes the free revenue and necessitates, at the end of a certain time, either bankruptcy or the increase of taxes. In times of peace it is permissible to borrow only in order to liquidate old debts, or in order to redeem other loans contracted on less advantageous terms.

To meet these three points there is but one means. It is to reduce expenditure below the revenue, and sufficiently below it to insure each year a saving of twenty millions, to be applied to redemption of the old debts. Without that, the first gunshot will force the state into bankruptcy.

The question will be asked incredulously, "On what can we retrench?" and each one, speaking for his own department, will maintain that nearly every particular item of expense is indispensable. They will be able to allege very good reasons, but these must all yield to the absolute necessity of economy. . . .

These are the matters which I have been permitted to recall to your Majesty. You will not forget that in accepting the place of comptroller general I have felt the full value of the confidence with which you honor me; I have felt that you intrust to me the happiness of your people, and, if it be permitted to me to say so, the care of promoting among your people the love of your person and of your authority.

Turgot foresees the danger of opposition to all reforms.

At the same time I feel all the danger to which I expose myself. I foresee that I shall be alone in fighting against abuses of every kind, against the power of those who profit by these abuses, against the crowd of prejudiced people who

oppose themselves to all reform, and who are such powerful instruments in the hands of interested parties for perpetuating the disorder. I shall have to struggle even against the natural goodness and generosity of your Majesty, and of the persons who are most dear to you. I shall be feared, hated even, by nearly all the court, by all who solicit favors. They will impute to me all the refusals; they will describe me as a hard man because I shall have advised your Majesty that you ought not to enrich even those that you love at the expense of your people's subsistence.

And this people, for whom I shall sacrifice myself, are so easily deceived that perhaps I shall encounter their hatred by the very measures I take to defend them against exactions. I shall be calumniated (having, perhaps, appearances against me) in order to deprive me of your Majesty's confidence. I shall not regret losing a place which I never solicited. I am ready to resign it to your Majesty as soon as I can no longer hope to be useful in it. . . .

Your Majesty will remember that it is upon the faith of your promises made to me that I charge myself with a burden perhaps beyond my strength, and it is to yourself personally, to the upright man, the just and good man, rather than to the king, that I give myself.

I venture to repeat here what you have already been kind enough to hear and approve of. The affecting kindness with which you condescended to press my hands within your own, as if sealing my devotion, will never be effaced from my memory. It will sustain my courage. It has forever united my personal happiness with the interest, the glory, and the happiness of your Majesty. It is with these sentiments that I am, sire, etc.

The preamble to Turgot's edict abolishing the guilds illustrates both the system he endeavored to destroy and his method of educating the people by explaining the nature and defects of the abuses against which the decree was directed.

391. Preamble to Turgot's edict abolishing the guilds.

In almost all the towns the exercise of the different arts and trades is concentrated in the hands of a small number of masters, united in corporations, who alone can, to the exclusion of all other citizens, make or sell the articles belonging to their particular industry. Any person who, by inclination or necessity, intends following an art or trade can only do so by acquiring the mastership [i.e. freedom of the corporation] after a probation as long and vexatious as it is superfluous. By having to satisfy repeated exactions, the money he had so much need of in order to start his trade or open his workshop has been consumed in mere waste. . . .

Citizens of all classes are deprived both of the right to choose the workmen they would employ, and of the advantages they would enjoy from competition operating toward improvements in manufacture and reduction in price. Often one cannot get the simplest work done without its having to go through the hands of several workmen of different corporations, and without enduring the delays, tricks, and exactions which the pretensions of the different corporations, and the caprices of their arbitrary and mercenary directors, demand and encourage.

Thus the effects of these establishments are, first, as regards the state, a vast tyranny over trade and industrial work; second, as regards the great body of the people, a loss of wages and the means of subsistence; third, in respect to the inhabitants of towns in general, a slavery to exclusive privileges equivalent to a real monopoly, — a monopoly of which those who exercise it against the public are themselves the victims whenever, in their turn, they have need of the articles or the work of any other corporation. . . .

Among the infinite number of unreasonable regulations, we find in some corporations that all are excluded from them except the sons of masters, or those who marry the widows of masters. Others reject all those whom they call "strangers," — that is, those born in another town. In many of them for a young man to be married is enough to exclude him from the apprenticeship, and consequently from the mastership. The spirit of monopoly which has dictated the making of

these statutes has been carried out to the excluding of women even from the trades the most suitable to their sex, such as embroidery, which they are forbidden to exercise on their own account. . . .

God, by giving to man wants, and making his recourse to work necessary to supply them, has made the right to work the property of every man, and this property is the first, the most sacred, the most imprescriptible of all.

The first paragraph of the edict itself provides that:

It shall be free to all persons, of whatever quality or condition they may be, even to all foreigners, to undertake and to exercise in all our kingdom, and particularly in our good city of Paris, whatever kind of trade and whatever profession of art or industry may seem good to them; for which purpose we now extinguish and suppress all corporations and communities of merchants and artisans, as well as all masterships and guild directories. We abrogate all privileges, statutes, and regulations of the said corporations, so that none of our subjects shall be troubled in the exercise of his trade or profession by any cause or under any pretext whatever.

Shortly after his retirement in 1781, Necker set to work to write *A Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France.* In the introduction to this he speaks of his recent experiences as minister of finance.

392. Necker reviews his own administration.

The review I take of my past administration occasions, it is true, neither remorse nor repentance: possibly I may even find in it some actions the remembrance of which will shed a happy influence over the remainder of my days; possibly I may think that, if it had not been for the revival and support of public confidence, the enemies of the king, who relied on the effects of the former disorder and low state of public credit in France, might have gained advantages that have escaped them; possibly I may think that if, in the first years of the war, I had been obliged to furnish the resources of a prudent government by taxes or rigorous

operations, the poor would have been very unhappy, and the other classes of citizens would have taken alarm.

Yet, to balance these pleasing recollections, I shall always behold the empty shadow of the more lively and pure satisfactions that my administration was deprived of; I shall have always present to my mind those benefits of every kind which it would have been so easy to have effected if the fruits of so many solicitudes, instead of being appropriated solely to the extraordinary expenses of the state, could have been applied daily to augment the happiness and prosperity of the people.

Alas! what might not have been done under other circumstances! It wounds my heart to think of it! I labored during the storm; I put the ship, as it were, afloat again, and others enjoy the command of her in the days of peace! But such is the fate of men; that Providence which searches the human heart and finds even in the virtues on which we pride ourselves some motives which are not perhaps pure enough in its sight, takes a delight in disappointing the most pardonable of all passions, namely, that of the love of glory and of the good opinion of the public. . . .

I regret, and I have made no secret of it, that I was interrupted in the middle of my career, and that I was not able to finish what I had conceived for the good of the state and for the honor of the kingdom. I have not the hypocritical vanity to affect a deceitful serenity, which would be too nearly allied to indifference to deserve a place among the virtues. That moment will be long present to my mind when, some days after my resignation, being occupied in assorting and classifying my papers, I came across those that contained my various ideas for future reforms, and more especially the plans I had formed for ameliorating the salt tax, for the suppression of every customhouse in the interior parts of the kingdom, and for the extension of the provincial administrations: — I could proceed no farther, and pushing away all these notes by a kind of involuntary motion, I covered my face with my hands, and a flood of tears overpowered me.

After tracing the growth of public opinion in France, Necker continues:

393. Necker on the sway of public opinion in France.

A great many foreigners, from various causes, cannot have a just notion of the authority that is exercised in France by public opinion. They cannot comprehend the nature of an invisible power which, destitute of treasury, of guards and armies, dictates its laws in the capital, in the court, and even in the king's palace. Nevertheless nothing is more true nor more remarkable; and we shall cease to wonder at it if we reflect on what must be the consequences of the spirit of society when that spirit has an unbounded sway over a sensible people, who love not only to judge but to make a figure in the world; who are not divided by political interests, weakened by despotism, or overcome by turbulent passions; lastly, over a nation in which, perhaps, a general propensity to imitation produces a multiplicity of opinions and weakens the force of those that are too singular, so that being commonly united together, and resembling billows that are more or less impetuous, they have a very powerful ascendant while they are in motion. . . .

Let us appreciate the full value of so salutary an authority; let us rally ourselves, in order to defend it against those it annoys and who would destroy it. It is that authority alone which sets bounds to the mischievous progress of indifference: in the midst of a depraved age its voice alone is attended to, and it seems to preside in the tribunal of honor.

I will go still farther: it is the ascendency of public opinion that opposes more obstacles in France to the abuse of power than any other consideration whatsoever. Yes, it is entirely by that opinion, and the esteem in which it is still held, that the nation has a kind of influence, by having it in its power to reward with praise, or punish with contempt. If ever that opinion is entirely despised, or if it ever grows too weak, then liberty will lose its principal support, and there will be a greater necessity than ever that the sovereign should be virtuous and his ministers moderate. . . .

Preambles to edicts are a form peculiar to the French government. Under the empire of despotism the sovereign

Importance in France of the preambles to edicts.

disdains to instruct his subjects, or is afraid of accustoming them to reflect and argue. In free countries, on the other hand, such as England, every new law being discussed in the assembly of the representatives of the nation, the people are well informed, or at least reputed to be so, at the moment these laws are determined on; and every individual may know the motive for making them, from the collection of parliamentary debates or from the public papers.

But in France, where there are no national assemblies, and where nevertheless the laws of the sovereign must be registered by the supreme courts, — in France, where the monarch entertains a certain regard for the national character, and where the ministers themselves are made sensible every hour that they stand in need of the public approbation, — it has been thought essential to explain the motives of the will of the sovereign, when that will manifests itself to the people, whether under the form of edicts or of simple proclamations of the council.

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. The Cahiers of 1789

The *cahiers*, drawn up in accordance with an ancient custom by the three orders of the realm, form one of the most extraordinary historical documents of all time. The conditions under which they were drafted were, on the whole, favorable to a frank and general expression on the part of all classes of the French people of their suggestions for reform. A portion of one of the *cahiers* of the third estate, selected somewhat at random, is given below.[1]

394. *Cahier* of the third estate of Carcassonne.

Cahier *of the grievances, complaints, and protests of the electoral district of Carcassonne, drawn up by the commissioners named by the general assembly of the third estate and based upon the various* cahiers *received from the several communities of the said district:*

The third estate of the electoral district of Carcassonne, desiring to give to a beloved monarch, and one so worthy of our affection, the most unmistakable proof of its love and respect, of its gratitude and fidelity, desiring to coöperate with the whole nation in repairing the successive misfortunes which have overwhelmed it, and with the hope of reviving once more its ancient glory, declares that the happiness of the nation must, in their opinion, depend upon

[1] A *cahier* of a single order in one electoral district would fill several pages of this volume, and all those prepared to be taken to Versailles occupy together, when printed, six compactly printed quarto volumes. Professor Whitcomb has translated a typical *cahier* of each of the orders in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 5.

that of its king, upon the stability of the monarchy, and upon the preservation of the orders which compose it and of the fundamental laws which govern it.

Considering, too, that a holy respect for religion, morality, civil liberty, and the rights of property, a speedy return to true principles, a careful selection and due measure in the matter of the taxes, a strict proportionality in their assessment, a persistent economy in government expenditures, and indispensable reforms in all branches of the administration, are the best and perhaps the only means of perpetuating the existence of the monarchy;

The third estate of the electoral district of Carcassonne very humbly petitions his Majesty to take into consideration these several matters, weigh them in his wisdom, and permit his people to enjoy, as soon as may be, fresh proofs of that benevolence which he has never ceased to exhibit toward them and which is dictated by his affection for them.

In view of the obligation imposed by his Majesty's command that the third estate of this district should confide to his paternal ear the causes of the ills which afflict them and the means by which they may be remedied or moderated they believe that they are fulfilling the duties of faithful subjects and zealous citizens in submitting to the consideration of the nation, and to the sentiments of justice and affection which his Majesty entertains for his subjects, the following:

Roman Catholic religion.

1. Public worship should be confined to the Roman Catholic apostolic religion, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship; its extension should be promoted and the most efficient measures taken to reëstablish the discipline of the Church and increase its prestige.

Treatment of non-Catholics.

2. Nevertheless the civil rights of those of the king's subjects who are not Catholics should be confirmed, and they should be admitted to positions and offices in the public administration, without however extending this privilege — which reason and humanity alike demand for them — to judicial or police functions or to those of public instruction.

Abolition of papal dues.

3. The nation should consider some means of abolishing the annates and all other dues paid to the holy see, to

the prejudice and against the protests of the whole French people.

[Pluralities should be prohibited, monasteries reduced in numbers, and holidays suppressed or decreased.]

7. The rights which have just been restored to the nation should be consecrated as fundamental principles of the monarchy, and their perpetual and unalterable enjoyment should be assured by a solemn law, which should so define the rights both of the monarch and of the people that their violation shall hereafter be impossible.

Granting of subsidies.

8. Among these rights the following should be especially noted: the nation should hereafter be subject only to such laws and taxes as it shall itself freely ratify.

Regular meetings of the Estates General.

9. The meetings of the Estates General of the kingdom should be fixed for definite periods, and the subsidies judged necessary for the support of the state and the public service should be voted for no longer a period than to the close of the year in which the next meeting of the Estates General is to occur.

Vote by head.

10. In order to assure to the third estate the influence to which it is entitled in view of the number of its members, the amount of its contributions to the public treasury, and the manifold interests which it has to defend or promote in the national assemblies, its votes in the assembly should be taken and counted by head.

No exemptions from taxes.

11. No order, corporation, or individual citizen may lay claim to any pecuniary exemptions. . . . All taxes should be assessed on the same system throughout the nation.

Privileges of the nobility in holding office to be abolished.

12. The due exacted from commoners holding fiefs should be abolished, and also the general or particular regulations which exclude members of the third estate from certain positions, offices, and ranks which have hitherto been bestowed on nobles either for life or hereditarily. A law should be passed declaring members of the third estate qualified to fill all such offices for which they are judged to be personally fitted.

Lettres de cachet.

13. Since individual liberty is intimately associated with national liberty, his Majesty is hereby petitioned not to

permit that it be hereafter interfered with by arbitrary orders for imprisonment. . . .

Freedom of the press.

14. Freedom should be granted also to the press, which should however be subjected, by means of strict regulations, to the principles of religion, morality, and public decency. . . . . .

60. The third estate of the district of Carcassonne places its trust, for the rest, in the zeal, patriotism, honor, and probity of its deputies in the National Assembly in all matters which may accord with the beneficent views of his Majesty, the welfare of the kingdom, the union of the three estates, and the public peace.

II. The Opening of the Estates General in 1789

Madame de Campan, one of the queen's ladies in waiting, gives some account in her well-known *Memoirs* of the arrival of the deputies of the third estate and of their prejudice against Marie Antoinette and the court.

395. The opening of the Estates General. (From Madame de Campan's *Memoirs*.)

The Estates General opened May 4. For the last time the queen appeared in royal magnificence. . . . The first session of the Estates was held next day. The king delivered his address with assurance and dignity. The queen told me that he gave the matter much attention, and rehearsed his speech frequently in order to be quite master of the intonations of his voice. His Majesty gave public indications of his attachment and deference for the queen, who was applauded; but it was easy to see that the applause was really meant for the king alone.

Mirabeau and the court.

From the very early sessions it was clear that Mirabeau would prove very dangerous to the government. It is alleged that he revealed at this time to the king, and more particularly to the queen, a part of the plans he had in mind, and the conditions upon which he would abandon them. He had already exhibited the weapons with which his eloquence and audacity furnished him, in order that he might open

negotiations with the party he proposed to attack. This man played at revolution in order to gain a fortune. The queen told me at this time that he asked for an embassy, — Constantinople, if I remember rightly. He was refused with that proper contempt which vice inspires, but which policy would doubtless best have disguised, if the future could have been foreseen.[1]

Alarm of the court.

The general enthusiasm which prevailed during the early sessions of the Assembly, the discussions among the deputies of the third estate and nobility, and even of the clergy, filled their Majesties and those attached to the cause of monarchy with increasing alarm. . . . The deputies of the third estate arrived at Versailles with the deepest prejudices against the court. The wicked sayings of Paris never fail to spread throughout the provinces. The deputies believed that the king indulged in the pleasures of the table to a shameful excess. They were persuaded that the queen exhausted the treasury of the state to gratify the most unreasonable luxury.

Almost all wished to visit the Little Trianon.[2] The extreme simplicity of this pleasure house did not correspond with their ideas. Some insisted that they be shown even the smallest closets, on the ground that some richly furnished apartments were being concealed from them. At last they designated one which they declared was said to be decorated throughout with diamonds and twisted columns set with sapphires and rubies. The queen could not get these silly ideas out of her head and told the king about them. He thought, from the description of the room furnished to the guards in the Trianon, that the deputies had in mind the decoration of imitation diamonds in the theater at Fontainebleau constructed in Louis XV's reign.

[1] The queen abhorred Mirabeau, who had scandalized even the court by his private immorality. His attempts to save the king and queen (see below, pp. 414 *sqq.*) were viewed as vulgar plots for his own advancement.

[2] A simple little pleasure house in a secluded part of the gardens at Versailles, much beloved by the queen on account of its retirement.

Arthur Young (see above, p. 373) arrived in Paris about a month after the Estates had come together. He reports (June 8, 1789):

396. Arthur Young visits the National Assembly (June, 1789).

The king, court, nobility, clergy, army, and parliament [i.e. *parlements*] are nearly in the same situation. All these consider with equal dread the ideas of liberty now afloat, except the first, who, for reasons obvious to those who know his character, troubles himself little, even with circumstances that concern his power the most intimately. . . .

The innumerable pamphlets.

The business going forward at present in the pamphlet shops of Paris is incredible. I went to the Palais Royal to see what new things were published, and to procure a catalogue of all. Every hour produces something new. Thirteen came out to-day, sixteen yesterday, and ninety-two last week.

Nineteen-twentieths of these productions are in favor of liberty, and commonly violent against the clergy and the nobility. I have to-day bespoke many of this description that have reputation; but inquiring for such as had appeared on the other side of the question, to my astonishment I find there are but two or three that have merit enough to be known.

The speakers at the Palais Royal in Paris.

But the coffee-houses in the Palais Royal present yet more singular and astonishing spectacles: they are not only crowded within, but other expectant crowds are at the doors and windows, listening *à gorge déployé* to certain orators, who from chairs or tables harangue each his little audience. The eagerness with which they are heard, and the thunder of applause they receive for every sentiment of more than common hardiness or violence against the present government, cannot easily be imagined. I am all amazement at the ministry permitting such nests and hotbeds of sedition and revolt, which disseminate amongst the people every hour principles that by and by must be opposed with vigor; and therefore it seems little short of madness to allow the propagation at present.

Scarcity of food.

Everything conspires to render the present period in France critical. The want of bread is terrible; accounts

arrive every moment from the provinces of riots and disturbances, and calling in the military to preserve the peace of the markets. . . .

Arthur Young describes the important session of June 15.

June 15. This has been a rich day, and such an one as ten years ago none could believe would ever arrive in France; a very important debate being expected on what, in our House of Commons, would be termed the state of the nation. My friend, Monsieur Lazowski, and myself were at Versailles at eight in the morning. We went immediately to the hall of the states to secure good seats in the gallery; we found some deputies already there, and a pretty numerous audience collected. The room is too large; none but stentorian lungs or the finest, clearest voices can be heard. However, the very size of the apartment, which admits two thousand people, gave a dignity to the scene. It was indeed an interesting one. The spectacle of the representatives of twenty-five millions of people, just emerging from the evils of two hundred years of arbitrary power, and rising to the blessings of a freer constitution, assembled with open doors under the eye of the public, was framed to call into animated feelings every latent spark, every emotion of a liberal bosom; to banish whatever ideas might intrude of their being a people too often hostile to my own country, and to dwell with pleasure on the glorious idea of happiness to a great nation.

Abbé Sieyès

Monsieur l'Abbé Sieyès opened the debate. He is one of the most zealous sticklers for the popular cause; carries his ideas not to a regulation of the present government, which he thinks too bad to be regulated at all, but wishes to see it absolutely overturned, — being in fact a violent republican: this is the character he commonly bears, and in his pamphlets he seems pretty much to justify such an idea. He speaks ungracefully and uneloquently, but logically, — or rather reads so, for he read his speech, which was prepared. His motion, or rather string of motions, was to declare themselves the representatives known and verified of the French nation, admitting the right of all absent deputies [the nobility and clergy] to be received among them on the verification of their powers.

Mirabeau's speech.

Monsieur de Mirabeau spoke without notes for near an hour, with a warmth, animation, and eloquence that entitles him to the reputation of an undoubted orator. He opposed the words "known" and "verified," in the proposition of Abbé Sieyès, with great force of reasoning, and proposed in lieu that they should declare themselves simply *Représentatives du peuple Françoise;* that no *veto* should exist against their resolves in any other assembly; that all [existing] taxes are illegal, but should be granted during the present sessions of the states, and no longer; that the debt of the king should become the debt of the nation, and be secured on funds accordingly. Monsieur de Mirabeau was well heard, and his proposition much applauded.

Disorderly method of procedure in the Assembly.

In regard to their general method of proceeding, there are two circumstances in which they are very deficient. The spectators in the galleries are allowed to interfere in the debates by clapping their hands, and other noisy expressions of approbation: this is grossly indecent; it is also dangerous; for, if they are permitted to express approbation, they are, by parity of reason, allowed expressions of dissent, and they may hiss as well as clap; which it is said they have sometimes done: this would be to overrule the debate and influence the deliberations.

Another circumstance is the want of order among themselves. More than once to-day there were an hundred members on their legs at a time, and Monsieur Bailly absolutely without power to keep order.

III. The Decree abolishing the Feudal System (August 11, 1789)

The abolition of the feudal system, which took place during the famous night session of August 4–5, 1789, was caused by the reading of a report on the misery and disorder which prevailed in the provinces. The report declares that "Letters from all the provinces indicate that property of all kinds is a prey to the most criminal

violence; on all sides châteaux are being burned, convents destroyed, and farms abandoned to pillage. The taxes, the feudal dues, all are extinct; the laws are without force, and the magistrates without authority." With the hope of pacifying and encouraging the people, the Assembly, in a fervor of enthusiasm and excitement, straightway abolished many of the ancient abuses. The document here given is the revised decree, completed a week later.

397. Decree abolishing the feudal system.

ARTICLE I. The National Assembly hereby completely abolishes the feudal system. It decrees that, among the existing rights and dues, both feudal and *censuel*,[1] all those originating in or representing real or personal serfdom shall be abolished without indemnification. All other dues are declared redeemable, the terms and mode of redemption to be fixed by the National Assembly. Those of the said dues which are not extinguished by this decree shall continue to be collected until indemnification shall take place.

Extinction of all hunting rights.

II. The exclusive right to maintain pigeon houses and dovecotes is abolished. The pigeons shall be confined during the seasons fixed by the community. During such periods they shall be looked upon as game, and every one shall have the right to kill them upon his own land.

III. The exclusive right to hunt and to maintain uninclosed warrens is likewise abolished, and every landowner shall have the right to kill, or to have destroyed on his own land, all kinds of game, observing, however, such police regulations as may be established with a view to the safety of the public.

All hunting *capitaineries*,[2] including the royal forests, and all hunting rights under whatever denomination, are likewise abolished. Provision shall be made, however, in a manner compatible with the regard due to property and liberty, for maintaining the personal pleasures of the king.

[1] This refers to the *cens*, a perpetual due similar to the payments made by English copyholders.

[2] See above, p. 365.

The president of the Assembly shall be commissioned to ask of the king the recall of those sent to the galleys or exiled, simply for violations of the hunting regulations, as well as for the release of those at present imprisoned for offenses of this kind, and the dismissal of such cases as are now pending.

Manorial courts suppressed.

IV. All manorial courts are hereby suppressed without indemnification. But the magistrates of these courts shall continue to perform their functions until such time as the National Assembly shall provide for the establishment of a new judicial system.

Tithes abolished

V. Tithes of every description, as well as the dues which have been substituted for them, under whatever denomination they are known or collected (even when compounded for), possessed by secular or regular congregations, by holders of benefices, members of corporations (including the Order of Malta and other religious and military orders), as well as those devoted to the maintenance of churches, those impropriated to lay persons, and those substituted for the *portion congrue*,[1] are abolished, on condition, however, that some other method be devised to provide for the expenses of divine worship, the support of the officiating clergy, for the assistance of the poor, for repairs and rebuilding of churches and parsonages, and for the maintenance of all institutions, seminaries, schools, academies, asylums, and organizations to which the present funds are devoted. Until such provision shall be made and the former possessors shall enter upon the enjoyment of an income on the new system, the National Assembly decrees that the said tithes shall continue to be collected according to law and in the customary manner.

Other tithes, of whatever nature they may be, shall be redeemable in such manner as the Assembly shall determine. Until this matter is adjusted, the National Assembly decrees that these, too, shall continue to be collected.

[1] This expression refers to the minimum remuneration fixed for the priests.

VI. All perpetual ground rents, payable either in money or in kind, of whatever nature they may be, whatever their origin and to whomsoever they may be due, . . . shall be redeemable at a rate fixed by the Assembly. No due shall in the future be created which is not redeemable.

Sale of offices discontinued.

VII. The sale of judicial and municipal offices shall be abolished forthwith. Justice shall be dispensed *gratis*. Nevertheless the magistrates at present holding such offices shall continue to exercise their functions and to receive their emoluments until the Assembly shall have made provision for indemnifying them.

VIII. The fees of the country priests are abolished, and shall be discontinued so soon as provision shall be made for increasing the minimum salary [*portion congrue*] of the parish priests and the payment to the curates. A regulation shall be drawn up to determine the status of the priests in the towns.

Exemptions from taxation abolished.

IX. Pecuniary privileges, personal or real, in the payment of taxes are abolished forever. Taxes shall be collected from all the citizens, and from all property, in the same manner and in the same form. Plans shall be considered by which the taxes shall be paid proportionally by all, even for the last six months of the current year.

All local differences in the law abolished.

X. Inasmuch as a national constitution and public liberty are of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which some of these enjoy, and inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is decreed that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities, and communes, are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen.

XI. All citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military; and no profession shall imply any derogation.

Papal powers reduced.

XII. Hereafter no remittances shall be made for annates or for any other purpose to the court of Rome, the vice legation at Avignon, or to the nunciature at Lucerne. The

clergy of the diocese shall apply to their bishops in regard to the filling of benefices and dispensations, the which shall be granted *gratis* without regard to reservations, expectancies, and papal months, all the churches of France enjoying the same freedom.

XIII. [This article abolishes various ecclesiastical dues.]

Pluralities.

XIV. Pluralities shall not be permitted hereafter in cases where the revenue from the benefice or benefices held shall exceed the sum of three thousand livres. Nor shall any individual be allowed to enjoy several pensions from benefices, or a pension and a benefice, if the revenue which he already enjoys from such sources exceeds the same sum of three thousand livres.

Pensions.

XV. The National Assembly shall consider, in conjunction with the king, the report which is to be submitted to it relating to pensions, favors, and salaries, with a view to suppressing all such as are not deserved, and reducing those which shall prove excessive; and the amount shall be fixed which the king may in the future disburse for this purpose.

XVI. The National Assembly decrees that a medal shall be struck in memory of the recent grave and important deliberations for the welfare of France, and that a Te Deum shall be chanted in gratitude in all the parishes and the churches of France.

XVII. The National Assembly solemnly proclaims the king, Louis XVI, the *Restorer of French Liberty*.

XVIII. The National Assembly shall present itself in a body before the king, in order to submit to him the decrees which have just been passed, to tender to him the tokens of its most respectful gratitude, and to pray him to permit the Te Deum to be chanted in his chapel, and to be present himself at this service.

XIX. The National Assembly shall consider, immediately after the constitution, the drawing up of the laws necessary for the development of the principles which it has laid down in the present decree. The latter shall be transmitted by the deputies without delay to all the provinces, together with

the decree of the 10th of this month, in order that it may be printed, published, read from the parish pulpits, and posted up wherever it shall be deemed necessary.

IV. Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

A declaration of the rights of man, which had been demanded by many of the *cahiers*, was the part of the new constitution which the Assembly decided (August 4) should be first drawn up. The members recognized that they were imitating an American precedent in doing this. Our first state constitutions, several of which were preceded by elaborate bills of rights, had very early been translated into French.

Almost every one of the articles in the declaration recalls some abuse of the *Ancien Régime*. This document has exercised a great influence upon Europe, and was imitated in many of the constitutions of the nineteenth century.

398. Declaration of the rights of man.

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, being constantly before all the members of the social body, shall remind them continually of their rights and duties; in order that the acts of the legislative power, as well as those of the executive power, may be compared at any moment with the objects and purposes of all political institutions and may thus be more respected; and, lastly, in order that the grievances of the citizens, based hereafter upon simple and incontestable principles, shall tend to the maintenance of the constitution and redound to the happiness of all.

Therefore the National Assembly recognizes and proclaims, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

ARTICLE 1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.

2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.

4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.

5. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.

6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.

7. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.

8. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer

punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

9. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.

10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

12. The security of the rights of man and of the citizen requires public military forces. These forces are, therefore, established for the good of all and not for the personal advantage of those to whom they shall be intrusted.

13. A common contribution is essential for the maintenance of the public forces and for the cost of administration. This should be equitably distributed among all the citizens in proportion to their means.

14. All the citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representatives, as to the necessity of the public contribution; to grant this freely; to know to what uses it is put; and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection and the duration of the taxes.

15. Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration.

16. A society in which the observance of the law is not assured, nor the separation of powers defined, has no constitution at all.

17. Since property is an inviolable and sacred right, no one shall be deprived thereof except where public necessity, legally determined, shall clearly demand it, and then only on condition that the owner shall have been previously and equitably indemnified.

V. Mirabeau's Fears after the "October Days"

Mirabeau is generally recognized as the ablest statesman in France during the opening of the Revolution. After the mob had carried off the king to Paris during the "October Days," Mirabeau was, in spite of the king's and queen's abhorrence and distrust of him, brought into relations with the court and permitted to give advice which, however, was never taken. His first communication to the king (October 15) furnishes a wonderful picture of the situation in France and the dangers to which the king was exposed in Paris. There is scarcely a feature of the approaching reign of terror which escapes Mirabeau's prophetic insight. The king, shortly after Mirabeau's death (in April, 1791), tried to escape from France in precisely the manner against which the great statesman had most urgently warned him, and with precisely the results which Mirabeau forecast.

399. Mirabeau's advice to the king in October, 1789. (Extracts.)

The king could not refuse to come to Paris, and whether the National Assembly could have refused to follow him or not, it had not, in any case, the power to detain him. Is the king free in Paris? He is, in the sense that no foreign will has taken the place of his own, but he is certainly not at liberty to leave Paris. He may not select those who guard his person; he cannot even exercise any direct control over the militia to whom his safety is confided. The National Assembly is free in Paris so far as its deliberations are concerned, but it could not adjourn to another town in the kingdom, nor can it guarantee to the delegate of the nation[1] more freedom than he already has.

Will the king enjoy in Paris entire personal security even? Placed as he is, the least mischance may compromise his

[1] The king.

safety! It is threatened by external movements, commotions within, party divisions, the errors of enthusiasm and of impatience, and, above all, by the violent collision of the capital with the provinces. Although Paris is powerful, it contains many causes for disturbance. Its inhabitants, when excited, are irresistible. Winter is approaching and food may be wanting. Bankruptcy may be declared. What will Paris be three months hence? Assuredly a poorhouse, perhaps a theater of horrors. Is it to such a place that the head of the nation should intrust his existence and our only hope?

Danger of disorder in Paris.

The ministers are without resources. Only one of them enjoys any popularity, and he has always been supported rather by certain enthusiastic admirers than by a party. But his resources are well known, and he has just shown himself in his true light. His empty brain has never contemplated more than to prop up here and there an edifice which is giving away at every point. He is anxious to prolong the death agony until the moment he has chosen for his political retirement, when, as in 1781, he plans to leave an alleged balance between the receipts and expenditures, and some millions in the royal treasury. What will become of the nation after this useless attempt, which renders bankruptcy inevitable? We are only weary and discouraged as yet; it is the moment of despair which is to be feared. . . .

Necker's incapacity.

Public strength lies only in public opinion and in the revenues of the state. But every bond of public opinion is severed. Only the direct taxes are paid at all, and these only partially, although the half of our taxes are indirect. Several years will be required to replace what six months have just destroyed, and the impatience of the people, which is increased by their misery, is apparent on every hand.

A still more fatal emergency is to be anticipated. The National Assembly, which is so badly constituted in principle, composed as it is of discordant factions laboriously brought together, can see that each day the confidence in its work is diminishing. . . .

General loss of respect for the National Assembly.

The respect which an exalted title and a great revolution seen from afar inspires, as well as hope, so essential to the

people, still sustains it. But each day this great cause is deserted by a portion of those who make public opinion, although it demands the closest coöperation of every faction and party in the realm. The people are, moreover, only informed of the almost inevitable mistakes of a legislative body which is too numerous, whose footing is insecure, and which has gone through no apprenticeship: no emphasis is laid upon the ease with which such mistakes could be corrected by the next legislature. The only way to save the state and the nascent constitution is to put the king in a position which will allow him, without delay, to unite with his people.

King's critical position in Paris.

Paris has long swallowed up the taxes of the kingdom. Paris is the seat of the financial *régime* which the provinces loathe. Paris has created the debt. Paris, by its miserable stock gambling, has destroyed public credit, and has compromised the honor of the nation. Must the National Assembly, too, regard this city only, and sacrifice the whole kingdom for it? Several provinces fear that the capital will dominate the Assembly and direct the course of its work.

What then is to be done? Is the king free? His freedom is not complete, nor is it recognized. Is the king safe? I do not think so. Can even Paris save him alone? No; Paris is lost if she is not brought to order and forced to moderation. Will the National Assembly finish its session without being harassed by the disturbances which a thousand circumstances lead us to anticipate? He would be bold, certainly, who should guarantee this!

Should no successful effort be made to give another direction to public opinion, to enlighten the people as to their true interests, to prepare, by instructions given to constituents, the spirit of the new legislature, will the state recover its tranquillity, the army its strength, the executive power its influence, and the monarch his real rights, whose exercise is essential to public liberty? Or will the monarchy be shaken to its foundation and very probably dismembered, — that is to say, dissolved? It is easy to foresee what is to be apprehended by what has already happened. Some measures must obviously be taken, as all the facts clearly indicate.

Several methods present themselves, but there are those which would entail the most terrible evils, and which I only mention to deter the king from a course which would mean certain destruction. To withdraw to Metz — or upon any other frontier — would be to declare war upon the nation and abdicate the throne. A king, who is the only safeguard of his people, does not fly before his people. . . . He does not excite all manner of suspicion against himself, nor does he place himself in a position where he can only reënter his possessions with arms in his hands, or be reduced to supplicate foreign aid.

The king should on no account flee to the boundary.

Who can say to what a state of frenzy the French nation might be aroused if it saw its king abandoning it in order to join a group of exiles, and become one of them himself, or how it would prepare for resistance and oppose the forces he might collect? Even I should denounce the monarch after such an act.

To withdraw into the interior of the kingdom and call together the entire nobility would be a policy no less hazardous. Justly or not, the whole nation, which in its ignorance confuses nobility and aristocracy, has long looked upon the gentry *en masse* as their implacable enemies. The abolition of the feudal system was the expiation of ten centuries of madness. The disturbance might have been lessened, but now it is too late, and the decree is irrevocable. To join the nobility would be worse than for the king to throw himself into a foreign and hostile army. He has to choose between a great nation and a few individuals, between peace and civil war carried on upon exceedingly unequal terms. . . .

The popular distrust of the nobility.

It is certain, in short, that a great revolution is necessary to save the kingdom; that the nation has rights, that it is on the way to recover them all, and that it is not sufficient simply to reëstablish them, but they must be consolidated; that a national convention can alone regenerate France; that the Assembly has already made several laws which it is indispensable to adopt; and that there is no safety for the king and for the state except in the closest alliance between the monarch and his people.

All the methods which I have mentioned having been rejected, I will make the following observations upon a final plan which is certainly not without peril. . . .

The king should retire to Rouen and summon the Assembly to him.

Having taken certain precautions, the king may leave his palace in open day and retire to Rouen. He should select that city or its environs, because it is the center of the kingdom, because . . . such a choice proclaims that there is no intention of flight, and that the only object is to conciliate the provinces. . . .

Before the king's departure a proclamation should be prepared, addressed to all the provinces, in which the king should say, among other things, that he is about to throw himself into the arms of his people; that violence has been done him at Versailles; that he was in a measure watched at Paris, and was not free to come and go, as every citizen is and ought to be. For the truth of these statements proofs should be furnished.

The king should say, moreover, that he recognizes that this situation serves as an excuse to the ill disposed not to obey the decrees of the National Assembly and the sanction given by him to these decrees, all of which could easily compromise a revolution in which he is as much interested as the most ardent friends of liberty; that he hopes to be inseparable from his people, and that the selection which he has made of Rouen proves this beyond controversy; that he is the first king of his race who has formed the purpose of investing the nation with all its rights, and that he has persisted in this design in spite of his ministers and the counsels by which princes are corrupted; that he has adopted without reserve such and such decrees of the National Assembly; that he renews his sanction and acceptance, and that his sentiments in this matter are unchangeable.

The proclamation should announce that the king is about to call the National Assembly to him in order that it may continue its work, but that he will soon summon a new convention to judge, confirm, modify and ratify the work of the first Assembly.

The king should state that he is ready to submit to the greatest personal sacrifices, since there are to be no more

promises of economy which are never carried out; that he will live like a private individual; that a million will suffice him for his personal expenses and those incurred as head of a family; that he asks no more, and requires but a single table for himself and his family; that all the luxury of the throne should consist in the perfecting of the civil government and in the wise liberality of distinctly national outlays. . . .

The king should declare that, although he has resolved upon all possible personal sacrifice, he by no means holds that the same retrenchment can be applied to all the payments which have, for a long time, been granted to a host of citizens who have at present no other means of support, and he requests the nation to consider that public peace is not to be successfully reëstablished by ruining and driving to despair so many thousand persons; that for the rest, he takes his people to witness as to his personal conduct in the past; that he will not subdue them by arms, but by his love; that he confides his honor and safety to French loyalty; that he only wishes the happiness of the citizens, and that his own pleasure is of no further importance. This proclamation of a good king, this peace manifesto at once firm and popular, ought to be forwarded by extraordinary couriers to all the provinces, and all those in command should be notified to be on their guard. . . .

VI. Address of the National Assembly to the French People (February 11, 1790)

400. The National Assembly reviews its achievements during the previous six months. (February, 1790.)

The National Assembly, as it progresses in its work, is receiving upon every hand the felicitations of the provinces, cities, and villages, testimonials of the public satisfaction and expressions of grateful appreciation; but murmurs reach it as well, from those who are affected or injured by the blows aimed at so many abuses and prejudices. While occupied with the welfare of all, the Assembly is solicitous in regard to individual ills. It can forgive prejudice, bitterness, and injustice, but it feels it to be one of its duties to warn you

against the influence of calumny, and to quiet the empty terrors which some are vainly trying to arouse in you. To what have they not resorted in order to mislead and discourage you? They pretend to be unaware of the good that the National Assembly has accomplished; this we propose to recall to your mind. Objections have been raised against what has been done; these we propose to meet. Doubts and anxiety have been disseminated as to what we propose to do in the future; this we will explain to you.

What has the Assembly accomplished? In the midst of storms, it has, with a firm hand, traced the principles of a constitution which will assure your liberty forever. The rights of man had been misconceived and insulted for centuries; they have been reëstablished for all humanity in that declaration, which shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors and as a law for the legislators themselves. The nation had lost the right to decree both the laws and the taxes; this right has been restored to it, while at the same time the true principles of monarchy have been solemnly established, as well as the inviolability of the august head of the nation and the heredity of the throne in a family so dear to all Frenchmen.

The Estates General converted into a National Assembly.

Formerly you had only the Estates General; now you have a National Assembly of which you can never be again deprived. In the Estates General the several orders, which were necessarily at odds and under the domination of ancient pretensions, dictated the decrees and could check the free action of the national will. These orders no longer exist; all have disappeared before the honorable title of *citizen*. All being citizens alike, you demanded citizen-defenders and, at the first summons, the National Guard arose, which, called together by patriotism and commanded by honor, has everywhere maintained or established order and watches with untiring zeal over the safety of each for the benefit of all.

Abolition of privileges.

Privileges without number, irreconcilably at enmity with every good, made up our entire public law. These have been destroyed, and at the word of this Assembly the provinces which were the most jealous of their own privileges

applauded their disappearance, feeling that they gained rather than lost thereby. A vexatious feudal system, powerful even in its ruin, covered the whole of France; it has now disappeared, never to return. In the provinces you were subject to a harassing administration; from this you have been freed. Arbitrary commands threatened the liberty of the citizens; they have been done away with. You desired a complete organization of the municipalities; this you have just received, and the creation of these bodies, chosen by your votes, offers, at this moment, a most imposing spectacle. At the same time the National Assembly has finished the task of a new division of the kingdom, which alone might serve to remove the last trace of former prejudices, substitute for provincial selfishness the true love for one's country, and serve as the basis of a just system of representation.[1] . . .

This, Frenchmen, is our work, or rather yours, for we are only your organ, and you have enlightened, encouraged, and sustained us in our labors. What a glorious period is this which we at last enjoy! How honorable the heritage which you may transmit to your posterity! Raised to the rank of citizens; admissible to every form of employment; enlightened censors of the administration when it is not actually in your hands; certain that all will be done by you and for you; equal before the law; free to act, to speak, to write; owing no account to individuals but always to the common will; — what condition more happy! Is there a single citizen worthy of the name who would dare look back, who would rebuild once more the ruins which surround us, in order again to contemplate the former structure?

The Assembly replies to the accusations made against it.

Yet what has not been said and done to weaken the natural impressions which such advantages should produce upon you? It is urged that we have destroyed everything; everything must, then, be reconstructed. But what is there which need be so much regretted? If we would know, let those be questioned in regard to the objects of reform

[1] The enumeration of a few further reforms is here omitted. The Assembly notes the abolition of the sale of offices and the partial extinction of the salt tax.

or destruction who did not profit by them; let even men of good faith be questioned who did profit by them. But let us leave one side those who, in order to ennoble the demands of purely personal interests, now choose as the objects of their commiseration the fate of those to whom they were formerly quite indifferent. We may then judge if each subject of reform does not enjoy the approval of all of those whose opinions should be considered.

Some say that we have acted too precipitately, as many others proclaim that we have been too deliberate. Too much precipitation! Does not every one know that only by attacking and overthrowing all the abuses at the same time can we hope to be freed from them without danger of their return; that then, and then only, every one becomes interested in the reëstablishment of order; that slow and partial reforms have always resulted in no reform at all, and that an abuse preserved becomes the support, and before long the means of restoring all those which we thought to have destroyed?

Our meetings are said to be disorderly; what of that, if the decrees which proceed from them are wise? We are indeed far from wishing to hold up for your admiration the details of all our debates. More than once they have been a source of annoyance to us, but at the same time we have felt that it was very unjust to take advantage of this disorder; and indeed this impetuosity is the almost inevitable effect of the first conflict which has perhaps ever been fought by every right principle against every form of error.

We are accused of having aspired to a chimerical perfection. A curious reproach indeed, which, if one looks at it closely, proves to be only an ill-disguised desire for the perpetuation of the abuses. The National Assembly has not allowed itself to be influenced by motives of servile interest or pusillanimity. It has had the courage, or rather the sense, to believe that useful ideas, essential to the human race, were not destined simply to adorn the pages of a book, and that the Supreme Being, when he granted the attribute of perfectibility to man, did not forbid him

to apply this peculiar appanage of his nature to the social organization, which has become the most comprehensive of his interests and almost the most important of his needs.

It is impossible, some say, to regenerate an old and corrupt nation. Let such objectors learn that there is nothing corrupt but those who wish to perpetuate corrupting abuses, and that a nation becomes young again the moment it resolves to be born anew in liberty. Behold the regeneration! How the nation's heart already beats with joy and hope, and how pure, elevated, and patriotic are its sentiments! With what enthusiasm do the people daily solicit the honor of being allowed to take the oath of citizen! — but why consider so despicable a reproach? Shall the National Assembly be reduced to excuse itself for not having rendered the French people desperate?

But we have done nothing for the people, their pretended friends cry on all sides. Yet it is the people's cause which is everywhere triumphant. Nothing done for the people! Does not every abuse which is abolished prepare the way for, and assure to them, relief? Is there an abuse which does not weigh upon the people? They do not complain, — it is because the excess of their ills has stifled complaint. They are now unhappy, — say better that they are still unhappy, — but not for long; that we swear.

We have destroyed the power of the executive — no, say rather the power of the ministers, which, in reality, formerly destroyed or often degraded the executive power. We have enlightened the executive power by showing it its true rights; we have, above all, ennobled it by bringing it to the true source of its power, the power of the people. The executive power is now without force, — against the constitution and the law, that is true, but in support of them it will be more powerful than ever before.

The people are aroused, — yes, for its defense, and with reason. But, it is urged, in several places there have been unfortunate occurrences. Should the National Assembly be reproached for these? Should disasters be attributed

to it which it mourns, which it would have prevented and arrested by the force of its decrees, and which the hereafter indissoluble union between the two powers and the irresistible action of all the national forces will doubtless check?

We have exceeded our powers. The reply is simple. We were incontestably sent to make a constitution: this was the wish and the need of the whole of France. But was it possible to create a constitution and form an even imperfect body of constitutional decrees, without the plenitude of power which we have exercised? We will say more: without the National Assembly France was lost; without the recognition of the principle which has governed all our decrees, of submitting the decision of every matter to a majority of votes, freely cast, it is impossible to conceive, we will not say a constitution, but even the prospect of destroying permanently the least of the abuses. This principle embodies an eternal truth and has been recognized throughout France. It receives recognition in a thousand ways in the numerous ratifications which oppose the swarm of libels reproaching us for exceeding our powers. These addresses, felicitations, compliments, and patriotic resolutions, — what a conclusive confirmation do they constitute of those powers which some would contest!

These, Frenchmen, are the reproaches which have been directed against your representatives in the mass of culpable writings in which a tone of civic grief is assumed. But their authors flatter themselves in vain that we are to be discouraged. Our courage is redoubled; you will not long wait for the results.[1] . . . We will pursue our laborious task, devoting ourselves to the great work of drawing up the constitution — your work as well as ours. We will complete it, aided by the wisdom of all France.

[1] The reforms which the Assembly announces for the future are omitted here. The chief were an enlightened system of taxes, a reorganization of the Church, new codes of the criminal and civil law, and a national system of education.

VII. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy

401. The civil constitution of the clergy (July 12, 1790).

The reorganization of the Church which followed upon the confiscation of its vast possessions is an excellent illustration of the spirit of the National Assembly. The demand for complete uniformity and simplification is especially pronounced in the reform of this most venerable institution of France, the anomalies and intricacies of which were hallowed not only by age but by religious reverence. The chief articles are given below, and indicate how completely the Assembly desired to bring the Church under rules similar to those which they were drawing up for the state.

The National Assembly, after having heard the report of the ecclesiastical committee, has decreed and do decree the following as constitutional articles:

Title I

New bishoprics to coincide with the departments.

Article I. Each department shall form a single diocese, and each diocese shall have the same extent and the same limits as the department.

II. The seat of the bishoprics of the eighty-three departments of the kingdom shall be established as follows: that of the department of the Lower Seine at Rouen; that of the department of Calvados at Bayeux.[1] . . .

All other bishoprics in the eighty-three departments of the kingdom, which are not included by name in the present article, are, and forever shall be, abolished.

The kingdom shall be divided into ten metropolitan districts, of which the sees shall be situated at Rouen, Rheims, Besançon, Rennes, Paris, Bourges, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Aix, and Lyons. These archbishoprics shall have the following denominations: that of Rouen shall be called the Archbishopric of the Coast of the Channel.[2] . . .

[1] The names of the remaining episcopal sees are here omitted.

[2] The remaining names of the archbishoprics are here omitted.

The jurisdiction of no foreign bishops to be any longer recognized.

IV. No church or parish of France nor any French citizen may acknowledge upon any occasion, or upon any pretext whatsoever, the authority of an ordinary bishop or of an archbishop whose see shall be under the supremacy of a foreign power, nor that of his representatives residing in France or elsewhere; without prejudice, however, to the unity of the faith and the intercourse which shall be maintained with the visible head of the universal Church, as hereafter provided.

New parish divisions.

VI. A new arrangement and division of all the parishes of the kingdom shall be undertaken immediately in concert with the bishop and the district administration.

General abolition of ancient ecclesiastical offices.

XX. All titles and offices other than those mentioned in the present constitution, dignities, canonries, prebends, half prebends, chapels, chaplainships, both in cathedral and collegiate churches, all regular and secular chapters for either sex, abbacies and priorships, both regular and *in commendam*, for either sex, as well as all other benefices and prestimonies in general, of whatever kind or denomination, are from the day of this decree extinguished and abolished and shall never be reëstablished in any form.

Title II

Election of bishops and priests by the regular voters.

ARTICLE I. Beginning with the day of publication of the present decree, there shall be but one mode of choosing bishops and parish priests, namely that of election.

II. All elections shall be by ballot and shall be decided by the absolute majority of the votes.

III. The election of bishops shall take place according to the forms and by the electoral body designated in the decree of December 22, 1789, for the election of members of the departmental assembly.

VI. The election of a bishop can only take place or be undertaken upon Sunday, in the principal church of the chief town of the department, at the close of the parish mass, at which all the electors are required to be present.

VII. In order to be eligible to a bishopric, one must have fulfilled for fifteen years at least the duties of the church

ministry in the diocese, as a parish priest, officiating minister, or curate, or as superior, or as directing vicar of the seminary.

XIX. The new bishop may not apply to the pope for any form of confirmation, but shall write to him, as to the visible head of the universal Church, as a testimony to the unity of faith and communion maintained with him.

Bishops required to take an oath to support the new constitution

XXI. Before the ceremony of consecration begins, the bishop elect shall take a solemn oath, in the presence of the municipal officers, of the people, and of the clergy, to guard with care the faithful of his diocese who are confided to him, to be loyal to the nation, the law, and the king, and to support with all his power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by the king.

XXV. The election of the parish priests shall take place according to the forms and by the electors designated in the decree of December 22, 1789, for the election of members of the administrative assembly of the district.

XL. Bishoprics and cures shall be looked upon as vacant until those elected to fill them shall have taken the oath above mentioned.

Title III

Salaries of bishops and priests.

ARTICLE I. The ministers of religion, performing as they do the first and most important functions of society and forced to live continuously in the place where they discharge the offices to which they have been called by the confidence of the people, shall be supported by the nation.

II. Every bishop, priest, and officiating clergyman in a chapel of ease shall be furnished with a suitable dwelling, on condition, however, that the occupant shall make all the necessary current repairs. This shall not affect at present, in any way, those parishes where the priest now receives a money equivalent instead of his dwelling. The departments shall, moreover, have cognizance of suits arising in this connection, brought by the parishes and by the priests. Salaries shall be assigned to each, as indicated below.

III. The bishop of Paris shall receive fifty thousand livres; the bishops of the cities having a population of fifty thousand

or more, twenty thousand livres ; other bishops, twelve thousand livres.

V. The salaries of the parish priests shall be as follows : in Paris, six thousand livres; in cities having a population of fifty thousand or over, four thousand livres; in those having a population of less than fifty thousand and more than ten thousand, three thousand livres ; in cities and towns of which the population is below ten thousand and more than three thousand, twenty-four hundred livres.

In all other cities, towns, and villages where the parish shall have a population between three thousand and twenty-five hundred, two thousand livres ; in those between twenty-five hundred and two thousand, eighteen hundred livres; in those having a population of less than two thousand, and more than one thousand, the salary shall be fifteen hundred livres ; in those having one thousand inhabitants and under, twelve hundred livres.

VII. The salaries *in money* of the ministers of religion shall be paid every three months, in advance, by the treasurer of the district.

XII. In view of the salary which is assured to them by the present constitution, the bishops, parish priests, and curates shall perform the episcopal and priestly functions *gratis*.

Title IV

Bishops and priests must remain in residence and perform their duties.

ARTICLE I. The law requiring the residence of ecclesiastics in the districts under their charge shall be strictly observed. All vested with an ecclesiastical office or function shall be subject to this, without distinction or exception.

II. No bishop shall absent himself from his diocese more than two weeks consecutively during the year, except in case of real necessity and with the consent of the directory of the department in which his see is situated.

III. In the same manner, the parish priests and the curates may not absent themselves from the place of their duties beyond the term fixed above, except for weighty reasons, and even in such cases the priests must obtain

the permission both of their bishop and of the directory of their district, and the curates that of the parish priest.

VI. Bishops, parish priests, and curates may, as active citizens, be present at the primary and electoral assemblies; they may be chosen electors, or as deputies to the legislative body, or as members of the general council of the communes or of the administrative councils of their districts or departments.

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[For the full bibliography of the French Revolution, see close of the following chapter.]

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

I. The Flight of the King and the Origin of a Republican Party

The National Assembly, which had done so much to reform France, was drawing to a close in the summer of 1791, after two years of arduous labor. It was subjecting the new constitution which it had been drafting to a final revision before it left the task of government to the king and the Legislative Assembly, after carefully defining and restricting the powers of both. The flight of the king toward the eastern frontier, on June 20, 1791, served to show how slight was the chance that the new government would succeed, when the monarch was ready to desert his people in order to put himself in the hands of foreign powers and of the runaway nobles. The impression that the news of the king's flight made upon the people of Paris is described by Prudhomme, a well-known journalist of the time, in his newspaper.

402. How the Parisians viewed the flight of the king (June 20, 1791). (From Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris.*)

It was not until ten o'clock in the morning that the municipal government announced, by firing a cannon thrice, the unexpected event of the day. But for three hours the news had already been passing from mouth to mouth and was circulating in all quarters of the city. During these three hours many outrages might have been committed. The king had gone. This news produced a moment of anxiety, and everybody ran in a crowd to the palace of the Tuileries to see if it were true; but every one turned almost immediately

to the hall where the National Assembly met, declaring that their king was in there and that Louis XVI might go where he pleased.

Then the people became curious to visit the apartments vacated by the royal family; they traversed them all, and we questioned the sentinels we found there, "Where, and how, could he have escaped? How could this fat royal person, who complained of the meanness of his lodging, manage to make himself invisible to the sentries, — he whose girth would stop up any passage?" The soldiers of the guard had nothing to say to this. We insisted: "This flight is not natural; your commanders must have been in the plot, . . . for while you were at your post Louis XVI left his without your knowing it and yet passing close to you." These reflections, which naturally suggested themselves, account for the reception which made Lafayette pale when he appeared in the Place de Grève and passed along the quays. He took refuge in the National Assembly, where he made some confessions that did little to restore him to popular favor.

Far from being "famished for a glimpse of the king," the people proved, by the way in which they took the escape of Louis XVI, that they were sick of the throne and tired of paying for it. If they had known, moreover, that Louis XVI, in his message, which was just then being read in the National Assembly, complained "that he had not been able to find in the palace of the Tuileries the most simple conveniences of life," the people might have been roused to some excess; but they knew their own strength and did not permit themselves any of those little exhibitions of vengeance which are natural to irritated weakness.

Conduct of the populace in the royal apartments.

They contented themselves with making sport, in their own way, of royalty and of the man who was invested with it. The portrait of the king was taken down from its place of honor and hung on the door. A fruit woman took possession of Antoinette's bed and used it to display her cherries, saying, "It 's the nation's turn now to be comfortable." A young girl refused to let them put the queen's bonnet on

her head and trampled on it with indignation and contempt. They had more respect for the dauphin's study, — but we should blush to report the titles of the books which his mother had selected.

The streets and public squares offered a spectacle of another kind. The national force deployed itself everywhere in an imposing manner. The brave Santerre alone enrolled two thousand pikemen in his *faubourg*. These were not the "active" citizens and the royal bluecoats, that were enjoying the honors of the celebration. The woolen caps reappeared and eclipsed the bearskins. The women contested with the men the duty of guarding the city gates, saying, "It was the women who brought the king to Paris and the men who let him escape." But do not boast too loudly, ladies; it was not much of a present, after all.

The prevailing spirit was apathy in regard to kings in general and contempt for Louis XVI in particular. This showed itself in the least details. On the Place de Grève the people broke up a bust of Louis XVI, which was illuminated by that celebrated lantern which had been a source of terror to the enemies of the Revolution. When will the people execute justice upon all these bronze kings, monuments of our idolatry? In the Rue St. Honoré they forced a dealer to sacrifice a plaster head which somewhat resembled Louis XVI. In another shop they contented themselves with putting a paper band over his eyes. The words "king," "queen," "royal," "Bourbon," "Louis," "court," "Monsieur," "the king's brother," were effaced wherever they were found on pictures or on the signs over shops and stores.

While the National Assembly naturally tried to shield the king after his unmistakable attempt to escape beyond the boundaries of France, many leaders in the clubs denounced him as a traitor and demanded his deposition. A petition was drafted in which the National Assembly was requested to regard the flight

of Louis XVI as tantamount to his abdication. This was submitted on July 17 to the crowds which collected on the Champ de Mars in Paris. Some disorder having arisen, the crowd treated the National Guard with disrespect, and the command was finally given to fire upon the people. Lafayette, then head of the guard, and others tried later to justify the harsh command, and were furiously attacked by Marat in his famous newspaper, *The People's Friend.* The following extract from it furnishes a good illustration of the attitude of the violent republicans at this time.

403. Marat attacks Lafayette and the royalists.

O credulous Parisians! can you be duped by these shameful deceits and cowardly impostures? See if their aim in massacring the patriots was not to annihilate your clubs! Even while the massacre was going on, the emissaries of Mottier [i.e. Lafayette] were running about the streets mixing with the groups of people and loudly accusing the fraternal societies and the club of the Cordeliers of causing the misfortunes. The same evening the club of the Cordeliers, wishing to come together, found the doors of their place of meeting nailed up. Two pieces of artillery barred the entrance to the Fraternal Society, and only those conscript fathers who were sold to the court were permitted to enter the Jacobin Club, by means of their deputy's cards.

Not satisfied with annihilating the patriotic associations, these scoundrels violate the liberty of the press, annihilate the Declaration of Rights — the rights of nature. Cowardly citizens, can you hear this without trembling? They declare the oppressed, who, in order to escape their tyranny, would make a weapon of his despair and counsel the massacre of his oppressors, a disturber of the public peace. They declare every citizen a disturber of the public peace who cries, in an uprising, to the ferocious satellites to lower or lay down their arms, thus metamorphosing into crimes the very humanity of peaceful citizens, the cries of terror and natural self-defense.

Infamous legislators, vile scoundrels, monsters satiated with gold and blood, privileged brigands who traffic with the monarch, with our fortunes, our rights, our liberty, and our lives! You thought to strike terror into the hearts of patriotic writers and paralyze them with fright at the sight of the punishments you inflict. I flatter myself that they will not soften. As for *The Friend of the People*, you know that for a long time your decrees directed against the Declaration of Rights have been waste paper to him. Could he but rally at his call two thousand determined men to save the country, he would proceed at their head to tear out the heart of the infernal Mottier in the midst of his battalions of slaves. He would burn the monarch and his minions in his palace, and impale you on your seats and bury you in the burning ruins of your lair.

The flight of the king, his arrest at Varennes, and the agitation which accompanied and followed the affair led the queen's brother, the Emperor Leopold, to issue, in concert with the king of Prussia, the Declaration of Pillnitz. This was regarded by the French as an expression of sympathy for the *Émigrés* and as a promise to form a European alliance for the purpose of undoing the Revolution in France. To those who signed the declaration it was, however, scarcely more than an empty threat, which they had little idea of carrying out.

404. The Declaration of Pillnitz (August 27, 1791).

His Majesty the Emperor and his Majesty the king of Prussia, having given attention to the wishes and representations of Monsieur [the brother of the king of France], and of Monsieur le Comte d'Artois, jointly declare that they regard the present situation of his Majesty the king of France as a matter of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe. They trust that this interest will not fail to be recognized by the powers, whose aid is solicited; and that in consequence they will not refuse to employ, in conjunction with their said majesties, the most efficient means, in

proportion to their resources, to place the king of France in a position to establish, with the most absolute freedom, the foundations of a monarchical form of government, which shall at once be in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and promote the welfare of the French nation. In that case[1] their said majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia are resolved to act promptly and in common accord with the forces necessary to obtain the desired common end.

In the meantime they will give such orders to their troops as are necessary in order that these may be ready to be called into active service.

LEOPOLD.
FREDERICK WILLIAM.

PILLNITZ, August 27, 1791.

II. A ROYALIST'S VIEW OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

405. Opinion of a conservative royalist on the work of the National Assembly.

The views of the more conservative royalists in regard to the work of the National Assembly are expressed in the following editorial in the well-known periodical, *Le Mercure de France*. This article was written by Mallet du Pan, the editor, who, although he clearly realized the vices of the *Ancien Régime* and did not wish it restored, nevertheless held, like many thoughtful men of the time, that the Assembly had been very unwise in its methods.

The Constitutional Assembly cannot fail, without denying positive and accepted facts, to recognize that, as a result of its doctrines and action, it leaves every religious principle destroyed, morals in the last stage of degradation, free sway

[1] Namely, in case the other powers agreed to join them in checking the Revolution. The signers of the declaration well knew that England would not associate itself with them for such a purpose and that consequently their threat would not be executed.

to every vice, the rights of property violated and undermined, our forces, both land and naval, in a worse state than at the opening of its reign ; that it has shaken, if not destroyed, the foundation of all military organization ; that it leaves our finances in chaos, the public debt considerably augmented, the annual deficit, according to the most favorable calculators, increased by half, the taxes in arrears, their payment suspended, having struck at their very roots by the recklessness of an absolutely new system of which the immediate effects have been to make the people regard themselves as freed from taxation.

It cannot disguise from itself that our influence and reputation in Europe are eclipsed ; that our commerce is less flourishing, our industry less productive, our population less numerous ; that our labor has decreased as well as the national wealth ; that it has caused the disappearance of the specie and dissipated an enormous amount of the public capital ; that, finally, our internal police, in spite of numerous guards, is more oppressive and less effective than it was before the Revolution.

We will add, what no one can deny, that the number of unfortunates of all classes has increased to a most frightful extent ; that misery and despair cast a funeral pall over the songs of triumph, the illuminations, the Te Deums and congratulatory speeches. I do not speak of the clergy and nobility ; their condition and birth having rendered them criminal in the eyes of the dominant party, their misfortunes are undoubtedly well-merited punishments, and four or five hundred private individuals, having declared themselves inviolable, have assumed the right to determine their fate as the judge determines that of criminals ; but I ask that a single class of Frenchmen, except the stockbrokers, be pointed out to me whose fortunes have not diminished and whose resources and prosperity have not been painfully affected!

In order justly to appreciate the conduct of our first lawmakers, we must avoid the sophism by which they have constantly fascinated the common people, — that of comparing

the present situation of France with the disastrous results of the most horrible despotism. That is a false standpoint to which knaves and fools are always careful to revert. A vast number of citizens do not desire the old any more than the new régime, and the reproaches heaped upon the latter have no bearing on the reform of the older system. In order to overcome the disapprobation of the citizens it must be proved that, without the action of the Assembly and the public and private calamities which this has involved, France would never have gained freedom, the security of person and property, safety, which is the first condition of a good government, peace, which is its sign, political equality, plenty, strength, order, and general consideration. It would, moreover, have to be proved that the Assembly had not the power to choose other institutions; that no middle course presented itself, and that the only government adapted to the existing exigencies was that which the Assembly proclaimed, since no other offered such obvious advantages or a more evidently propitious future.

III. Origin of the Jacobin Club

The spontaneous origin of the Jacobin Club, which was to play such a conspicuous rôle in the Revolution, is here described by one of its prominent early members, Alexandre de Lameth. The society grew with astonishing rapidity. By December, 1790, there were eleven hundred names enrolled upon the list of Paris members, and by June, 1791, the affiliated clubs throughout the provinces numbered four hundred and six. It must not be supposed that the Jacobins represented a well-defined policy or defended a single set of political opinions. Nor were they by any means always in agreement among themselves. For example, in the winter of 1791–1792 a strong party among them opposed the growing tendency

to involve France in a war with Europe. Lameth makes clear the way in which the society supplemented the National Assembly.

406. How the Jacobin Club originated in 1789.

After the transfer of the Assembly to Paris [October, 1789], the deputies from provinces which were distant from the capital, and who, for the most part, had never visited Paris (for traveling was not so easy then as it is now), experienced a sort of terror at the idea of being alone and, so to speak, lost in the midst of this huge city. They almost all, consequently, endeavored to lodge as near as possible to the Assembly, which then sat near the Feuillants (at the point where the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue Castiglione now intersect), in order that they might be easily found in case of necessity. But they were desirous that there should also be a place where they might meet to agree upon the direction of public matters. They applied to residents of the capital in whom they had confidence; a search was made in the neighborhood of the Assembly, and the refectory of the convent of the Jacobins was leased for two hundred francs a year. The necessary furniture, which consisted of chairs and tables for the committee, was procured for a like sum.

At the first session about one hundred deputies were present, the next day double that number. The Baron de Menou was elected president, and Target, Barnave, Alexandre de Lameth, Le Chapelier, and Adrien du Port were elected secretaries, as well as three others whose names have escaped me. A committee was chosen to draw up a list of regulations, of which Barnave was the chairman. The society decided on the name Friends of the Constitution. It was determined that all members of the Assembly should be admitted, but only such other persons should be received as had published useful works. The first to be thus received were Condorcet, the Marquis de Casotte, a distinguished economist, the Abbé Lecamus, a mathematician, and a small number of other savants or publicists.

The aim of the Society of the Friends of the Constitution was to discuss questions which were already, or were about to

be placed, upon the calendar of the National Assembly. It cannot be denied that, inasmuch as the non-deputies present exercised no restraint upon these discussions, they often had more force and brilliancy than in the Assembly itself, where one found himself hindered by the violent contradictions of the right wing, and often intimidated by a crowd of spectators.

This preliminary consideration shed a great deal of light upon the discussions in the Assembly. The resolve to decide within the society itself, by preliminary ballots, the nominees for president, secretaries, and the committees of the Assembly, proved a great advantage to the popular party; for from that time the elections were almost always carried by the left, although up to that time they had been almost entirely controlled by the right. Camus, an ecclesiastical lawyer, then president and since become a republican, had been elected by the aristocracy.

The number of the deputies who customarily frequented the Society of the Friends of the Constitution quickly rose to nearly four hundred. The number of writers also increased in a marked ratio. But it was not long before the condition of having published a useful book was no longer required for admission to the society, and it was decided that it was sufficient to have been recommended by six members. The organization then grew larger, and no longer possessed the same solidity in its composition. Very soon the place of meeting became insufficient, and permission was obtained from the monks of the convent to meet in their library, and later, in their church.

Along in December, 1789, many of the leading inhabitants of the provinces, having come to Paris either on private business or to follow more closely the course of public affairs, had themselves introduced at the society and expressed a desire to establish similar ones in the chief cities of France; for they felt that these associations of citizens intent upon defending the cause of public interest would form an efficient means of counteracting the violent opposition of the aristocracy, a class which had not yet lost the power which it had so long exercised.

IV. The Legislative Assembly and the Enemies of the Revolution

The early months of the Legislative Assembly were mainly occupied with the policy to be pursued toward three classes of opponents to the Revolution, — the runaway nobles, the foreign powers, who seemed ready to aid them, and, at home, the members of the clergy, who refused to support the new constitution. The king was also regarded with the greatest suspicion. Since the flight to Varennes and the Declaration of Pillnitz it seemed clear to both the Assembly and the people at large that the king was in all probability relying upon help from foreign powers. That they were quite right in this assumption has since been proved by the discovery of letters like the following which Louis was at the time secretly dispatching to his fellow-monarchs.

407. Letter of Louis XVI to the king of Prussia suggesting foreign intervention in French affairs.

My Brother: Paris, December 3, 1791.

I have learned through M. du Moustier of the interest which your Majesty has expressed not only in my person but also in the welfare of my kingdom. In giving me these proofs, the attitude of your Majesty has, in all cases where your interest might prove advantageous to my people, excited my lively appreciation. I confidently take advantage of it at this time when, in spite of the fact that I have accepted the new constitution, seditious leaders are openly exhibiting their purpose of entirely destroying the remnants of the monarchy. I have just addressed myself to the emperor, the empress of Russia, and to the kings of Spain and Sweden; I am suggesting to them the idea of a congress of the chief powers of Europe, supported by an armed force, as the best means of checking seditious parties, of establishing a more desirable order of things, and of preventing the evil which afflicts us from reaching the other states of Europe.

I trust that your Majesty will approve my ideas, and that you will maintain the most absolute secrecy about the proposition I am making to you. You will easily understand that the circumstances in which I find myself force me to observe the greatest caution. That is why no one but the baron of Breteuil is informed of my plans, and your Majesty may therefore communicate to him anything you wish. . . .

Your good brother,

Louis.

The king not unnaturally refused to sanction the edicts which the Assembly directed against the emigrant nobles, but he wrote to his brothers expostulating with them for increasing his unpopularity by their impolitic language and their intrigues with foreign powers.

On October 31, on motion of the Girondist, Isnard, the Assembly bluntly ordered the king's older brother, the count of Provence, to return to France on pain of losing all rights to the regency.

Louis Stanislas Xavier, Prince of France:

408. The count of Provence summoned back to France; and his impudent reply to the Assembly.

The National Assembly requires you in virtue of the French constitution, title III, chapter ii, section 3, article 2, to return to the kingdom within a period of two months from to-day, failing which you will, after the expiration of the said period, lose your contingent right to the regency.

On December 6 the count published the above order in Coblenz (the *Émigrés'* center of activity), with the following counter-proclamation of his own.

Members of the French Assembly, calling itself National:

Sanity requires you, in virtue of title I, chapter i, section 1, article 1, of the imprescriptible laws of common sense, to return to yourselves within a period of two months from to-day, failing which you will, after the expiration of the said period, be regarded as having lost your right to be

considered reasonable beings, and will be regarded as madmen, fit for the insane asylum.

Since the opening of the Legislative Assembly most of the Girondists had been warmly advocating war, which they believed would force the king to take a definite stand either with or against the nation. When war was finally declared against Austria on April 20, the Assembly was able to assign a number of plausible reasons for their action.

409. The French Assembly declares war on Austria.

The National Assembly, deliberating upon the formal proposition of the king, in view of the fact that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has not ceased to extend open protection to French rebels;

That it has instigated and formed a concert with several of the powers of Europe directed against the independence and safety of the French nation;

Reasons for war.

That Francis I, king of Hungary and Bohemia, has, by his diplomatic notes of the 18th of March and the 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert;

That, in spite of the proposition made to him by the note of March 11, 1792, to reduce to a peace basis the troops upon the frontiers, he has continued, and hastened, hostile preparations;

That he has formally attacked the sovereignty of the French nation by declaring his intention of maintaining the claims of the German princes who hold territory in France, whom the French nation has repeatedly offered to indemnify;

That he has endeavored to divide the citizens of France and arm them against one another by holding out to the malcontents the hope of assistance from a concert of the powers;

And that, finally, by his refusal to reply to the last dispatches of the king of France, he leaves no hope of obtaining, by way of friendly negotiation, the redress of these several grievances, — which is equivalent to a declaration of war; — the Assembly decrees that immediate action is urgent.

Firm purpose of the French to make no conquests.

The National Assembly proclaims that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by its constitution, "not to undertake any war with a view to conquest nor ever to employ its forces against the liberty of any people," only takes up arms for the maintenance of its liberty and independence;

That the war which it is forced to prosecute is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defense of a free people against the unjust aggression of a king;

That the French nation never confuses its brethren with its real enemies;

That it will neglect nothing which may reduce the curse of war, spare and preserve property, and cause all the unhappiness inseparable from war to fall alone upon those who have conspired against its liberty;

That it adopts in advance all foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall range themselves under its banners and consecrate their efforts to the defense of liberty; and that it will promote by all means in its power their settling in France.

Deliberating upon the formal proposition of the king and after having decreed the matter one of urgent importance, the Assembly decrees war against the king of Hungary and of Bohemia.

410. Decree against the nonjuring clergy.

The victories of the Austrians which followed the declaration of war called forth harsh measures against enemies at home, namely, such of the clergy as had been roused to opposition by the radical ecclesiastical reforms of the Assembly. The decree of May 27, 1792, ordered the expulsion from the realm of those clergymen who refused to take the oath to the constitution. The king increased his unpopularity by refusing to sanction this measure of the Assembly.

. . . The National Assembly, considering that the efforts which the nonjuring clergymen are constantly making to

overthrow the constitution preclude the supposition that these said ecclesiastics desire to unite in the social compact; considering that it would compromise the public safety longer to regard as members of society men who are evidently seeking to dissolve it; and in view of the fact that the laws are without force against men such as these who, operating upon the conscience in order to seduce the people, nearly always conceal their criminal maneuvers from those who might repress and punish them, decrees as follows:

Definition of nonjuring clergymen.

1. The deportation of nonjuring ecclesiastics shall take place as a measure of public security and of the general police power, in the cases and according to the forms hereinafter set forth.

2. All those shall be considered as nonjuring ecclesiastics who, being subject to the oath prescribed by the law of December 26, 1790, shall not have taken it; those also, not included in the said law, who have not taken the civic oath since September 3, last, the day when the French constitution was declared completed; finally, those who shall have retracted either oath.

3. When twenty active citizens of the same canton shall unite in a demand for the deportation of a nonjuring ecclesiastic, the directory of the department shall be required to pronounce the deportation if the opinion of the district directory is in conformity with the petition. . . .

. . . . . .

15. When an ecclesiastic against whom deportation has been pronounced is enjoying no pension or revenue, he shall receive three livres for each day's journey of ten leagues, as far as the frontiers, in order to support him on the way. These charges shall be borne by the public treasury and advanced by the treasury of the district in which the said ecclesiastic resides.

16. Those ecclesiastics against whom deportation has been pronounced who shall remain in the kingdom after announcing their retirement, or who shall return again after crossing the boundary, shall be condemned to imprisonment for ten years.

V. The Abolition of Monarchy

The demands for the suspension of Louis XVI, who was generally believed to be in traitorous correspondence with the Austrians and Prussians, became numerous in the summer of 1792; but it remained for the duke of Brunswick to assure the downfall of the monarchy by his proclamation, which became known in Paris, July 28, and seemed to furnish the agitators with a complete justification for the revolt which they were already planning and which they carried out on August 10.

411. The proclamation of the duke of Brunswick (July 25, 1792).

Their Majesties the emperor and the king of Prussia having intrusted to me the command of the united armies which they have collected on the frontiers of France, I desire to announce to the inhabitants of that kingdom the motives which have determined the policy of the two sovereigns and the purposes which they have in view.

Accusations against those who have "usurped" the power in France.

After arbitrarily violating the rights of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, disturbing and overthrowing good order and legitimate government in the interior of the realm, committing against the sacred person of the king and his august family outrages and brutalities which continue to be renewed daily, those who have usurped the reins of government have at last completed their work by declaring an unjust war on his Majesty the emperor and attacking his provinces situated in the Low Countries. Some of the territories of the Germanic empire have been affected by this oppression, and others have only escaped the same fate by yielding to the threats of the dominant party and its emissaries.

His Majesty the king of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty by the bonds of a strict defensive alliance and himself a preponderant member of the Germanic body, would have felt it inexcusable to refuse to march to the help of his ally and fellow-member of the empire. . . .

Aims of the allies.

To these important interests should be added another aim equally important and very close to the hearts of the two sovereigns, — namely, to put an end to the anarchy in the interior of France, to check the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to reëstablish the legal power, to restore to the king the security and the liberty of which he is now deprived and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him.

Convinced that the sane portion of the French nation abhors the excesses of the faction which dominates it, and that the majority of the people look forward with impatience to the time when they may declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors, his Majesty the emperor and his Majesty the king of Prussia call upon them and invite them to return without delay to the path of reason, justice, order, and peace. In accordance with these views, I, the undersigned, the commander in chief of the two armies, declare:

The allied courts meditate no conquests.

1. That, drawn into this war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts entertain no other aims than the welfare of France, and have no intention of enriching themselves by conquests.

They purpose to free the French king.

2. That they do not propose to meddle in the internal government of France, and that they merely wish to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their captivity, and procure for his Most Christian Majesty the necessary security to enable him, without danger or hindrance, to make such engagements as he shall see fit, and to work for the welfare of his subjects, according to his pledges.

Forgiveness for those who coöperate with the allies.

3. That the allied armies will protect the towns and villages, and the persons and goods of those who shall submit to the king and who shall coöperate in the immediate reëstablishment of order and the police power throughout France.

Threats against those who oppose the invaders.

4. . . . That, on the contrary, the members of the National Guard who shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies and punished as rebels to their king and as disturbers of the public peace. . . .

7. That the inhabitants of the towns and villages who may dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties and fire on them, either in the open country or through windows, doors, and openings in their houses, shall be punished immediately according to the most stringent laws of war, and their houses shall be burned or destroyed. . . .

Fate of Paris if it permits the king to come to harm.

8. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants without distinction shall be required to submit at once and without delay to the king, to place that prince in full and complete liberty, and to assure to him, as well as to the other royal personages, the inviolability and respect which the law of nature and of nations demands of subjects toward sovereigns. . . . Their said Majesties declare, on their word of honor as emperor and king, that if the chateau of the Tuileries is entered by force or attacked, if the least violence be offered to their Majesties the king, queen, and royal family, and if their safety and their liberty be not immediately assured, they will inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction, and the rebels guilty of the said outrages to the punishment that they merit. . . .

Finally, I pledge myself, in my own name and in my said capacity, to cause the troops intrusted to my command to observe good and strict discipline, promising to treat with kindness and moderation all well-intentioned subjects who show themselves peaceful and submissive, and to use force only against those who shall be guilty of resistance and ill will.

It is for these reasons that I call upon and exhort in the most urgent manner all the inhabitants of the kingdom not to oppose the movements and operations of the troops which I command, but rather, on the contrary, to grant them everywhere a free passage and to assist and aid them with all good will as circumstances shall demand.

Given at the headquarters at Coblenz, July 25, 1792.

CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg

Louis XVI had been suspended August 10 on account of the misgivings which his conduct inspired. The debate carried on six weeks later, during the opening session of the Convention, September 21, 1792, well illustrates the attitude of the new Assembly toward the ancient monarchy and serves to introduce some of the men who were soon to be most active during the Reign of Terror.

412. The debate during the first session of the Convention.

The citizens chosen by the French people to form the National Convention having assembled to the number of three hundred and seventy one, and having examined the credentials of the members, declare that the National Convention is organized. . . .

M. Manuel. Representatives of the sovereign people: the task which devolves upon you demands the power and wisdom of gods themselves. When Cineas entered the Roman senate he thought he beheld an assembly of kings. Such a comparison would be an insult to you. Here we see an assembly of philosophers occupied in preparing the way for the happiness of the world. I move that the president of France have his residence in the national palace, that the symbols of law and power be always at his side, and that every time that he opens a session all the citizens shall rise. This act of homage to the sovereignty of the people will constantly recall to us our rights and duties.

M. Simon. I move that the Assembly declare that they will never deliberate except in the presence of the people.

The President. Your motion, having no relation to the previous motion, I cannot give the floor to those who wish to support or oppose your proposition until the Assembly has passed upon the motion of Monsieur Manuel.

M. Mathieu. I am doubtful whether the discussion suggested by Monsieur Manuel should take precedence in our deliberations. Our predecessors lost much time in determining the exact dimensions of the chair of the former king. We do not wish to commit the same error. . . .

M. Chabot. Representatives of the people: I oppose the motion made by Citizen Manuel. I am astonished that Citizen Manuel, after having repudiated every idea of any comparison with kings, should propose to make one of our members like a king. The French nation, by sending to the Convention two hundred members of the legislative body who have individually taken an oath to combat both kings and royalty, has made itself quite clear as to its desire to establish a popular government. It is not only the *name* of king that it would abolish but everything which suggests preëminence, so that there will be no president of France. You cannot look for any other kind of dignity than associating with the *sans-culottes* who compose the majority of the nation. Only by making yourselves like your fellow-citizens will you acquire the necessary dignity to cause your decrees to be respected. . . .

M. Tallien. I am much astonished to hear this discussion about ceremonials. . . . Outside of this hall the president of the Convention is a simple citizen. If you want to speak to him, you can go and look for him on the third or the fifth floor. There is where virtue has its lodging. . . .

The Assembly unanimously rejected the motion of Monsieur Manuel.

M. Tallien. I move that before everything else the Assembly take a solemn pledge not to separate till it has given the French people a government established on the foundations of liberty and equality. I move that the members take an oath to make no laws which depart from this standard, and that this oath shall constantly guide the representatives of the people in their work. Those who shall perjure themselves shall be immolated to the just vengeance of the people. . . . [*Applause.*]

M. Merlin. I move that we do not take any oaths. Let us promise the people to save them. Let us go to work.

M. Couthon. . . . I am not afraid that, in the discussion which is about to take place, any one will dare to speak of royalty again; it is fit only for slaves, and the French would be unworthy of the liberty which they have acquired should

they dream of retaining a form of government branded by fourteen centuries of crime. But it is not royalty alone that must be eliminated from our constitution, but every kind of individual power which tends to restrict the rights of the people and violate the principles of equality. . . .

M. Philippeaux. There is a still more pressing subject; that is, to furnish the organs of the law the necessary power to maintain public tranquillity. I move that you maintain provisionally in power all the authorities now in existence. . . .

M. Camus. The most essential thing is to order that the taxes continue to be collected, for you know that they have to be voted at the opening of every new legislature.

The motions of Messieurs Philippeaux and Camus were unanimously passed. . . .

M. Collot d'Herbois. You have just taken a wise resolution, but there is one which you cannot postpone until the morrow, or even until this evening, or indeed for a single instant, without being faithless to the wish of the nation, — that is the abolition of royalty. [*Unanimous applause.*]

M. Quinette. We are not the judges of royalty; that belongs to the people. Our business is to make a concrete government, and the people will then choose between the old form where there was royalty and that which we shall submit to them. . . .

M. Grégoire. Assuredly no one of us would ever propose to retain in France the fatal race of kings; we all know but too well that dynasties have never been anything else than rapacious tribes who lived on nothing but human flesh. It is necessary completely to reassure the friends of liberty. We must destroy this talisman, whose magic power is still sufficient to stupefy many a man. I move accordingly that you sanction by a solemn law the abolition of royalty.

The entire Assembly rose by a spontaneous movement and passed the motion of Monsieur Grégoire by acclamation.

M. Bazire. I rise to a point of order. . . . It would be a frightful example for the people to see an Assembly commissioned with its dearest interests voting in a moment of enthusiasm. I move that the question be discussed.

M. Grégoire. Surely it is quite unnecessary to discuss what everybody agrees on. Kings are in the moral order what monsters are in the physical. Courts are the workshops of crimes, the lair of tyrants. The history of kings is the martyrology of nations. Since we are all convinced of the truth of this, why discuss it? I demand that my motion be put to vote, and that later it be supplied with a formal justification worthy of the solemnity of the decree.

M. Ducos. The form of your decree would be only the history of the crimes of Louis XVI, a history already but too well known to the French people. I demand that it be drawn up in the simplest terms. There is no need of explanation after the knowledge which has been spread abroad by the events of August 10.

The discussion was closed. There was a profound silence. The motion of Monsieur Grégoire, put to vote, was adopted amidst the liveliest applause:

"The National Convention decrees that royalty is abolished in France."

413. Proclamation to nations whose tyrants have been driven out by the French republican armies (December 15, 1792).

The Convention, after ridding France of the institution of monarchy, proposed to make its armies a means of propagating liberty and reform throughout Europe. It accordingly prepared a proclamation to be published in those countries which already were, or should be, occupied by the armies of the new French republic.

The French people to the people of ; brothers and friends:

We have conquered our liberty and we shall maintain it. We offer to bring this inestimable blessing to you, for it has always been rightly ours, and only by a crime have our oppressors robbed us of it. We have driven out your tyrants. Show yourselves free men and we will protect you from their vengeance, their machinations, or their return.

From this moment the French nation proclaims the sovereignty of the people, the suppression of all civil and military authorities which have hitherto governed you and of all the taxes which you bear, under whatever form, the abolition

of the tithe, of feudalism, of seigniorial rights and monopolies of every kind, of serfdom, whether real or personal, of hunting and fishing privileges, of the *corvée*, the salt tax, the tolls and local imposts, and, in general, of all the various kinds of taxes with which you have been loaded by your usurpers; it also proclaims the abolition among you of all noble and ecclesiastical corporations and of all prerogatives and privileges opposed to equality. You are, from this moment, brothers and friends; all are citizens, equal in rights, and all are alike called to govern, to serve, and to defend your country.[1]

Upon the execution of Louis XVI, his brother, the count of Provence, formally announced to his fellow-*Émigrés* the tragedy which their conduct had done so much to consummate.

414. The count of Provence announces the death of Louis XVI to the *Émigrés*.

HAMM, WESTPHALIA, January 28, 1793.

Gentlemen:

It is with sentiments of the deepest grief that I impart to you the new loss which we have just experienced in the king, my brother, whom the tyrants who for so long a time have been desolating France have sacrificed to their sacrilegious rage. This horrible event brings with it new duties for me which I propose to fulfill. I have taken the title of regent of the kingdom, which the right of birth gives me during the minority of King Louis XVII, my nephew, and I have delegated to the count of Artois that of lieutenant general of the kingdom.

Your sentiments are too well proved by your constancy and the numerous sacrifices that you have made, in your

[1] In the decree of the Convention to which the above proclamation was appended, we find (Article 11):

The French nation declares that it will treat as enemies every people who, refusing liberty and equality or renouncing them, may wish to maintain, recall, or treat with the prince and the privileged classes; on the other hand, it engages not to subscribe to any treaty and not to lay down its arms until the sovereignty and independence of the people whose territory the troops of the republic shall have entered shall be established, and until the people shall have adopted the principles of equality and founded a free and democratic government.

attachment to the religion of your fathers and to the sovereign whom we mourn to-day, to make it necessary to exhort you to redouble your zeal and fidelity toward our young and unfortunate monarch and your ardor in avenging the blood of his august father. We cannot fail to enjoy the support of the sovereigns who have already so generously embraced our cause; and if it is possible for us to find any consolation, it lies in the opportunity offered us to avenge our king, to place his son upon the throne, and to restore to our country that ancient constitution which can alone serve as a basis for its happiness and glory. This is the sole object of my solicitude and of that of my brother. Our titles have been changed, but our union is and will always remain the same, and we shall endeavor with more ardor than ever to fulfill our duty towards God, our honor, the king, and you.

Louis Stanislas Xavier.

VI. The Ideals of the Terrorists

Among the terrorists none was more ardent and indefatigable than Saint-Just, a young fanatic of unimpeachable probity, who, as member of the Committee of Public Safety and as agent of the Convention in the provinces, urged on the war against all the enemies of the Revolution, whether within or without France. He was a firm friend and admirer of Robespierre and suffered death with him on the 10th Thermidor (July 28, 1794). He left behind him some unpublished notes on republican institutions written during his last months, when he foresaw that, among so many opponents of his exalted ideas, he was likely to lose his life. The few selections which are given below serve to show how Saint-Just, Robespierre, and their sympathizers proposed to elaborate and to carry out, at the cost of no

matter how much bloodshed, the ideas of Rousseau, whose ardent disciples they were.

415. Selections from the *Republican Institutions of Saint-Just.*

I challenge you to establish liberty so long as it remains possible to arouse the unfortunate classes against the new order of things, and I defy you to do away with poverty altogether unless each one has his own land. . . . Where you find large landowners you find many poor people. Nothing can be done in a country where agriculture is carried on on a large scale. Man was not made for the workshop, the hospital, or the poorhouse. All that is horrible. Men must live in independence, each with his own wife and his robust and healthy children. We must have neither rich nor poor.

The poor man is superior to government and the powers of the world; he should address them as a master. We must have a system which puts all these principles in practice and assures comfort to the entire people. Opulence is a crime: it consists in supporting fewer children, whether one's own or adopted, than one has thousands of francs of income. . . .

Children shall belong to their mother, provided she has suckled them herself, until they are five years old; after that they shall belong to the republic until death. The mother who does not suckle her children ceases to be a mother in the eyes of the country. Child and citizen belong to the country, and a common instruction is essential. Children shall be brought up in the love of silence and scorn for fine talkers. They shall be trained in laconic speech. Games shall be prohibited in which they declaim, and they shall be habituated to simple truth.

The boys shall be educated, from the age of five to sixteen, by the country; from five to ten they shall learn to read, write, and swim. No one shall strike or caress a child. They shall be taught what is good and left to nature. He who strikes a child shall be banished. The children shall eat together and shall live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The teachers of children from

five to ten years old shall not be less than sixty years of age. . . . The education of children from ten to sixteen shall be military and agricultural.

Every man twenty-one years of age shall publicly state in the temples who are his friends. This declaration shall be renewed each year during the month Ventose. If a man deserts his friend, he is bound to explain his motives before the people in the temples; if he refuses, he shall be banished. Friends shall not put their contracts into writing, nor shall they oppose one another at law. If a man commits a crime, his friends shall be banished. Friends shall dig the grave of a deceased friend and prepare for the obsequies, and with the children of the deceased they shall scatter flowers on the grave. He who says that he does not believe in friendship, or who has no friends, shall be banished. A man convicted of ingratitude shall be banished.

The French people recognize the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. The first day of every month is consecrated to the Eternal. Incense shall burn day and night in the temples and shall be tended in turn for twenty-four hours by the men who have reached the age of sixty. The temples shall never be closed. The French people devote their fortunes and their children to the Eternal. The immortal souls of all those who have died for the fatherland, who have been good citizens, who have cherished their father and mother and never abandoned them, are in the bosom of the Eternal.

The first day of the month Germinal the republic shall celebrate the festival of the Divinity, of Nature, and of the People; the first day of the month Floréal, the festival of the Divinity, of love, and of husband and wife, etc.[1]

[1] Robespierre, in a remarkable report made to the Convention, May 7, 1794, on the relations of religious ideas to republican principles, exhibits the same confidence in festivals. Among the sentiments which he would celebrate are liberty, equality, glory, immortality, frugality, disinterestedness, stoicism, old age, and misfortune (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 353 *sqq.*). See also another similar report submitted on February 5, 1794 (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXI,

Every year on the first day of Floréal the people of each commune shall select, from among the inhabitants of the commune, and in the temple, a young man rich and virtuous and without deformity, at least twenty-one years of age and not over thirty, who shall in turn select and marry a poor maiden, in everlasting memory of human equality.

VII. Camille Desmoulins and his Newspaper

The most amiable and humorous of the terrorists was Camille Desmoulins. While he was one of the very first to preach republican ideas and to propagate them through his writings, he had little of the relentless and stern fanaticism which blinded Robespierre and Saint-Just to the cruelty of the work in which they were engaged. In the autumn of 1793 Desmoulins, who was a journalist by profession, began to issue a new newspaper, which he called *The Old Cordelier*.[1] The charm of his style, his wit and learning assured his editorials — and his newspaper was really nothing more than a periodical editorial — great popularity in Paris, and they still delight the historical student. In the third issue (December 15, 1793) he seeks to extenuate the severities of the Reign of Terror by showing, by skillfully adapted quotations from Tacitus, that the harsh measures of the new French republic were as nothing compared with the atrocities by which the early Roman emperors established their sway.

pp. 268 *sqq.*). Compare in this connection an address of Billaud-Varennes on the theory of democratic government (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 335 *sqq.*) and Fabre d'Eglantine's report on the new calendar (*Histoire Parlementaire*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 415 *sqq.*).

[1] Desmoulins had been from the first a very active member of the club of the Cordeliers, which had been more radical and republican in sentiment than the Jacobins.

416. Camille Desmoulins seeks to extenuate the Reign of Terror by quotations from Tacitus.

One difference between monarchy and a republic, which would alone serve to make every right-hearted man reject monarchy with horror and give preference to a republic, whatever it may cost to establish it, is that although the people may, in a democracy, be misled, they always esteem virtue and try to place only the upright in office, while rogues constitute the very essence of monarchy. Vice, pillage, and crime are diseases in republics, but health itself is a disease in monarchies. Cardinal Richelieu admits this in his *Political Testament*,[1] where he makes it a principle that the king should avoid employing upright men. And before him Sallust said, "Kings cannot do without scoundrels and, on the contrary, they must be on their guard against probity." Only in a republic, then, can the good citizen ever hope to see an end to the supremacy of intrigue and crime, for in order that these may disappear it is only necessary that the people should be enlightened. . . .

And there is another difference between monarchy and a republic: the reigns of the worst of emperors — Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian — all had happy beginnings.

It is by reflections such as these that the patriot should first answer the royalist who is laughing in his sleeve over the present state of France, as if this violent and terrible condition was to last. I can hear you, my dear royalists, slyly making sport of the founders of the republic and comparing the present with the old days of the Bastile. You count on the frankness of my pen, and you think that you will follow with pleasure my faithful account of the past half year. But I know how to moderate your satisfaction, and at the same time animate the citizens to new courage. Before summoning my readers to the Place de la Révolution and showing it to them flooded with the blood that has flowed during the past six months for the eternal emancipation of a nation of twenty-five millions and not yet cleansed by liberty and the public welfare, I will begin by fixing the eyes

[1] See above, pp. 268 *sqq.*

of my fellow-citizens upon the reigns of the Cæsars, — upon that river of blood, that sewer of corruption and filth, which flows perpetually under a monarchy.

For a long time, Tacitus tells us, there had been at Rome a law which defined the crimes of state and of leze majesty which were to be punished with death. . . . The emperors had only to add a few articles to this law in order to involve both individual citizens and entire cities in a fatal proscription. Augustus was the first to extend this law of leze majesty in which he included the writings which he called counter-revolutionary. Under his successors the comprehensiveness of the law soon knew no bounds. When simple remarks had become crimes of state, it was only a step to view as criminal mere glances, sadness, compassion, sighs, — silence itself.

Soon it became a crime of leze majesty, or of counter-revolution, for the town of Nursia to raise a monument to those of its people who had fallen at the siege of Modena, fighting under Augustus himself — Augustus was at that time in alliance with Brutus, and so Nursia suffered the fate of Perugia; a crime of counter-revolution for Libo Drusus to have asked the soothsayers if he would not one day be very rich; a crime of counter-revolution for the journalist, Cremutius Cordus, to have called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans; a crime of counter-revolution for one of the descendants of Cassius to possess a portrait of his great-grandfather; a crime of counter-revolution for Mamercus Scaurus to have composed a tragedy in which was a line that might have two meanings; a crime of counter-revolution for Torquatus Silanus to spend his money; a crime of counter-revolution to complain of the disasters of the time, for this was to criticise the government. . . .

Everything offended the tyrant. Was a citizen popular? He was a rival of the prince, who might stir up civil war. *Studia civium in se verteret et si multi idem audeant, bellum esse.* Suspect. Did a citizen, on the contrary, avoid popularity and hug his own fireside? This retired life caused you to gain a certain respect. *Quanto metu occultior, tanto famae adeptus.*

Suspect. Were you rich? There was danger that the populace might be corrupted by your largesses. *Auri vim atque opes Plauti principi infensas.* Suspect. Were you poor? Ha, invincible emperor! that man must be closely watched. No one is so enterprising as he who has nothing. *Syllam inopem, unde praecipuam audaciam.* Suspect.

Were you of a somber and melancholy temperament, or careless in your dress? You were disgusted that public affairs were going so well. Suspect. If, on the other hand, a citizen indulged himself in good times and indigestion, he was but rejoicing that the emperor had had an attack of gout, which was really nothing. It was necessary to let that man know that the emperor was still in the prime of life. *Reddendam pro intempestiva licentia moestam et funebrem noctem qua sentiat vivere Vitellium et imperare.* Suspect. Was he virtuous and austere in his habits? Good! a new Brutus, who durst, by his pallid face and Jacobin peruke, to censure the curled and giddy courtier. Suspect.[1]

Now the royalists need not take the trouble to inform me that this description settles nothing, and that the reign of Louis XVI resembled in no way the sway of the Cæsars. If it did not resemble it, it is because with us despotism has long been lulled in the lap of its luxuries and has placed such confidence in the strength of the chains which our fathers have borne for fifteen centuries that it deemed terror no longer necessary. . . . But now that the people have awakened and the sword of the republic has been drawn, let royalty once more set foot in France, and then we shall see that these pictures of tyranny so well drawn by Tacitus will prove the living image of what we shall have to suffer for half a century.

Indeed, need we seek examples at such a distance? The massacres of the Champ de Mars[2] and at Nancy; the horrors committed by the Austrians on the frontiers, which

[1] As Michelet has pointed out, this is rather a satire upon than a justification of the Reign of Terror.

[2] See above, pp. 430 *sq.*

Robespierre recounted to us the other night at the Jacobin Club; the conduct of the English at Genoa, of the royalists at Fougères and in the Vendée, — the violence of the factions alone shows well enough that despotism, if allowed to reënter its demolished habitation in a passion, could only establish itself again by reigning as did Augustus and Nero. In this duel between liberty and slavery and in the cruel alternative of a defeat a thousand times more bloody than our victory, it is wiser and less hazardous to carry the Revolution too far than to stop short of the goal, as Danton has said; it has been essential, above everything else, that the republic should remain in possession of the field of battle.

In the succeeding number of his newspaper (issued Decadi, 30th Frimaire, second year of the republic, one and indivisible) Desmoulins no longer extenuates the work of the guillotine but pleads for clemency.

417. Camille Desmoulins makes a plea for clemency (December 20, 1793).

Some persons have expressed their disapproval of my third issue, where, as they allege, I have been pleased to suggest certain comparisons which tend to cast an unfavorable light on the Revolution and the patriots, — they should say the excess of revolution and the professional patriots. My critics think the whole number refuted and everybody justified by the single reflection, "We all know that the present situation is not one of freedom, — but patience! you will be free one of these days."

Such people think apparently that liberty, like infancy, must of necessity pass through a stage of wailing and tears before it reaches maturity. On the contrary, it is of the nature of liberty that, in order to enjoy it, we need only desire it. A people is free the moment that it wishes to be so, — you will recollect that this was one of Lafayette's sayings, — and the people has entered upon its full rights since the 14th of July. Liberty has neither infancy nor old age, but is always in the prime of strength and vigor. . . .

Is this liberty that we desire a mere empty name? Is it only an opera actress carried about with a red cap on, or

even that statue, forty-six feet high, which David proposes to make? If by liberty you do not understand, as I do, great principles, but only a bit of stone, there never was idolatry more stupid and expensive than ours. Oh, my dear fellow-citizens, have we sunk so low as to prostrate ourselves before such divinities? No, heaven-born liberty is no nymph of the opera, nor a red liberty cap, nor a dirty shirt and rags. Liberty is happiness, reason, equality, justice, the Declaration of Rights, your sublime constitution.

Would you have me recognize this liberty, have me fall at her feet, and shed all my blood for her? Then open the prison doors to the two hundred thousand citizens whom you call suspects, for in the Declaration of Rights no prisons for suspicion are provided for, only places of detention. Suspicion has no prison, but only the public accuser; there are no suspects, but only those accused of offenses established by law.

Do not think that such a measure would be fatal to the republic. It would, on the contrary, be the most revolutionary that you have adopted. You would exterminate all your enemies by the guillotine! But was there ever greater madness? Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends? Do you believe that those whom you have imprisoned — these women and old men, these self-indulgent valetudinarians, these stragglers of the Revolution — are really dangerous? Only those among your enemies have remained among you who are cowardly or sick. The strong and courageous have emigrated. They have perished at Lyons or in the Vendée. The remnant which still lingers does not deserve your anger. . . .

Moreover it has not been love of the republic, but curiosity, which has every day attracted multitudes to the Place de la Révolution; it was the new drama which was to be enacted but once. I am sure that the majority of those who frequented this spectacle felt a deep contempt in their hearts for those who subscribed for the theater or opera, where they could only see pasteboard daggers and comedians who

merely pretended to die. According to Tacitus, a similar insensibility prevailed in Rome, a similar feeling of security and indifference to all issues. . . .

I am of a very different opinion from those who claim that it is necessary to leave the Terror on the order of the day. I am confident, on the contrary, that liberty will be assured and Europe conquered so soon as you have a committee of clemency. This committee will complete the Revolution, for clemency itself is a revolutionary measure, the most efficient of all when it is wisely dealt out.[1]

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Course of the War to 1795: FYFFE, Chapter II, pp. 28–73; *Cambridge Modern History*, Chapter XIV, pp. 398–446.

[1] In spite of Desmoulin's eloquent and wise plea for clemency, his friend Robespierre refused to support him, and he was brought to the scaffold, along with Danton, by the party which held that moderation was synonymous with treason to the cause of republican liberty.

B. Additional reading in English.

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TAINE, *The French Revolution* (from the French), 3 vols. Covers the period 1789 to 1794. A brilliant arraignment of many of the leaders of the Revolution, which the author treats in an unsympathetic spirit. His style, insight, and research, however, serve to give his work both marked originality and value.

CARLYLE, *The French Revolution*, originally published in 1837; new edition with notes by Fletcher and another edition edited by Rose. This famous bit of literature can scarcely be termed a history; it is a brilliant and erratic commentary on the men and ideas of the times, full of profound observation, not unmixed with highly colored trivialities and inconsequential reflections. Profitable and amusing for one familiar with the actual course of events.

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MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution ana Empire*, 2 vols. The author aims to explain the successes of Great Britain by its control of the seas.

The sources in English.

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ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1901*, gives important state papers.

YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels* (see above, p. 373), for the opening of the Estates General.

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The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution, 1789–1817, 2 vols., 1890.

PASQUIER, *History of my Time, Memoirs*, 1893–1894, Vol. I.

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Most of the memoirs mentioned below, p. 531, relating mainly to the Napoleonic period, have something to say of the Revolution, and the same may be said for those mentioned above, p. 396.

Burke and Thomas Paine.

Some notion of the attitude of certain conservative Englishmen toward the Revolution may be found in Burke's famous *Reflections on the French Revolution*, — a wild and indiscriminate attack upon the whole movement. It was answered by Thomas Paine in his celebrated tract, *The Rights of Man*, a defense of the cause of the people.

C. Material for advanced study.

AULARD, *L'Histoire politique de la révolution française, 1789–1804*, 1901. Recent, and by one who has devoted years to a sympathetic study of the revolutionary movement.

Sorel's great work.

SOREL, ALBERT, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, 8 vols. (coming down to 1815), 1885–1904, Vols. II–IV. This extraordinary work supersedes all others on the subject. While it is a history of the effects of the Revolution throughout Europe, it contains excellent chapters on the course of events in Paris and France. The later volumes cover the Napoleonic period.

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WALLON, *La Terreur*, 2 vols., 1881. This author has also issued two other important and elaborate contributions to the history of the Reign of Terror: *Histoire du tribunal révolutionnaire de Paris*, and *Les Représentants du peuple en mission.*

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CHUQUET, *Les Guerres de la révolution*, 1886–1896, 11 vols. (coming down only to September, 1793).

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Biographies of the revolutionary leaders.

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CHEVREMONT, *Marat*, 2 vols., 1880. DAUBAN, *Étude sur Madame Roland et son temps*, 2 vols., 1864. HAMEL, *Histoire de Robespierre*, 3 vols.; excessively laudatory. MALLET, *Mallet du Pan and the French Revolution*, 1902. ROBINET, *Danton*, 1889.

AULARD, *Les Orateurs de l'Assemblée constituante*, 1882, and *Les Orateurs de la Législative et de la Convention.*

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BUCHEZ et ROUX, *Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française*, 40 vols., 1834–1838. This contains extracts from the debates in the Assembly, with the text of some of the important decrees. It gives quotations from the newspapers and from the speeches in the Jacobin and other political clubs, etc. Notwithstanding very defective tables of contents, this has been the mainstay of many writers, and is still very valuable, by reason of its comprehensiveness and cheapness; the 40 volumes are procurable in Paris for from fifteen to twenty dollars.

The newspapers.

Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur (several editions), 32 vols. This is a reprint of one of the most important newspapers of the revolutionary period. It can be bought for about twenty dollars. Examples of other important newspapers may be found in our best libraries.

Archives parlementaires de 1787–1860, first series, 1787–1799, of which some 66 volumes have appeared, reaching the middle of the year 1793. This is an official but not very critical collection of the debates in the successive French legislative bodies, and occasionally includes other useful material. Vol. I contains an excellent account of the events preceding the opening of the Estates General.

Collections of the *Cahiers*.

Vols. II–VI of the *Archives parlementaires* contain the most complete collection in existence of the *cahiers;* but this must be supplemented by the collections of local *cahiers* which appear from time to time. (See *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 802 *sq.*)

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Memoirs.

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[1] See bibliographies in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, and in the *Histoire générale*, Vol. VIII.

CHAPTER XXXVII

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

I. Boyhood of Napoleon

When nine years old Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother Joseph accompanied their father to France, where the boys were to go to school and learn French. One of their teachers in Autun thus writes of them:

418. How Napoleon and his brother Joseph learned French.

Napoleon brought with him to Autun a somber and pensive character. He never played with any one and ordinarily walked by himself. . . . He had much ability; understood and learned readily. When I was teaching him his lesson he would fix his eyes upon me with his mouth open. If I tried to recapitulate what I had just said, he would not listen to me. If I blamed him for this, he would reply with a cold, not to say imperious, air, "I know that, sir."

I only had him under me for three months. . . . He had by that time learned French so as to make use of it freely in conversation, and could write little themes and make little translations. . . . At the end of three months I sent him off with a certain Monsieur de Champeaux to the military school at Brienne.

Joseph's character.

Joseph also had much ability: although he took but little interest in study, and knew no French at all when he arrived, he learned it very promptly, as well as the beginnings of Latin. . . . He was as decent and agreeable in his manner as his brother was imperious. His nature was sweet, engaging, and appreciative. He was fond of his companions and protected those whom others annoyed. I never saw in him the least indications of ambition.

Napoleon early developed the ability to judge men and assign them to their appropriate spheres. Before he left Brienne his father visited him, bringing his younger brother Lucien, together with the news that his brother Joseph was planning to give up the clerical career he had chosen and become a soldier. Although not yet fifteen years old, Napoleon writes of the matter to his uncle as follows:

419. Napoleon's early insight into character.

My dear Uncle:

I am writing to inform you that my dear father has just passed through Brienne on his way to place Marianne [i.e. Napoleon's sister, Élise] in the convent at St. Cyr, after which he will take measures to regain his health. He arrived here on the 21st instant with Lucien. The latter he left here. He is nine years old and three feet eleven inches and six lines tall. He is in the sixth form so far as his Latin goes, and he is about to take up the various other branches.

He knows French very well, but he has forgotten Italian altogether. I hope that he will now write you more frequently than when he was at Autun. I am convinced that my brother Joseph has not written to you; and how could you expect him to when he only writes a few lines to my dear father, when he writes at all?

As to the career which he proposes to embrace, the ecclesiastical was, as you know, the first that he chose. He persisted in that resolution until now, when he proposes to go into the king's service. He is wrong in this for several reasons.

First, as my dear father observes, he has not the courage necessary to face the dangers of an action, and his feeble health would not permit him to bear the fatigues of a campaign. My brother only looks at military life from the standpoint of a garrison. Yes, my dear brother would be a good garrison officer; he is well made and has that light spirit which adapts him to frivolous compliments. He would always shine in society, but in battle — that is what my father is doubtful about. . . .

Second, he has been educated for the ecclesiastical estate, and it is much too late to give this up. The bishop of Autun would have given him a fine benefice, and he would have been sure to have become bishop. What an advantage for his family! The bishop has done all he could to induce him to persist in his original purpose, promising him that he would not be sorry. However, he has made up his mind. I would praise him if only he had a decided taste for this profession, which is the finest of all professions. If only the great Director of human affairs, in forming him, had given him, as he has me, a decided inclination for military life!

He wants to go into the army; that is well enough, but in what department? The marine? But, in the first place, he knows no mathematics, and it will take him two years to master the subject. In the second place, his health is incompatible with a life on the sea.

Shall it be the engineers' division? He would require four or five years to learn what is necessary, and at the end of that time he would only be a beginner. Moreover I believe that the necessity of working all day is not compatible with the lightness of his character. The same reason which holds for the engineers holds for the artillery. . . . That certainly is not to his taste.

Let us see, then. Doubtless he would like to go into the infantry. Good; I can comprehend that. He would like to have nothing to do all day except to walk about the streets. And what is a little infantry officer, anyway — except a hard case three fourths of the time? This is just what my dear father, and you, and my mother, and my uncle the archdeacon would not wish, for he has already shown some little indications of light-headedness and prodigality.

Consequently a last effort will be made to induce him to pursue a clerical career. Otherwise my dear father will carry him back to Corsica with him, so that he may keep an eye on him, and they will try to have him enter the law.

I close with the hope that you will continue to retain me in your good graces: to render myself worthy of them will

be my most cherished ambition. I am, with most profound respect, my dear uncle, your very humble and very obedient servant and nephew,

NAPOLEONE DI BUONAPARTE.

P.S. Destroy this letter.

II. BONAPARTE'S ITALIAN CAMPAIGN (1796–1797)

A writer, Las Cases, who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, gathered the following information from the exiled emperor in regard to the circumstances of Bonaparte's first campaign.

420. Circumstances under which Bonaparte undertook the Italian campaign.

During the period of his command at Paris subsequent to the 18th Vendémiaire, Napoleon had to deal with a great dearth of food, which occasioned several popular commotions. One day, when the usual distribution of bread had not taken place, crowds of people collected around the bakers' shops. Napoleon was patrolling the city with a party of his staff to preserve public order. A crowd of persons, chiefly women, assembled around him, loudly calling for bread. The crowd grew, the outcries increased, and the situation of Napoleon and his officers became critical. A woman of monstrously robust appearance was particularly conspicuous by her gestures and exclamations. "Those fine epauleted fellows," said she, pointing to the officers, "laugh at our distress; so long as they can eat and grow fat, they do not care if the poor people die of hunger." Napoleon turned to her and said, "My good woman, look at me; which is the fatter, you or I?" Napoleon was at that time extremely thin. "I was merely a slip of parchment," said he. A general burst of laughter disarmed the fury of the populace, and the staff officers continued their round.

Napoleon's memoirs of the campaign in Italy show how he became acquainted with Madame de Beauharnais, and how he contracted the marriage which has been so greatly misrepresented in the accounts of the time. As soon as he

got himself introduced to Madame de Beauharnais he spent almost every evening at her house, which was frequented by the most agreeable company in Paris. When the majority of the party retired, there usually remained Monsieur de Montesquiou, the father of the grand chamberlain, the duke of Nivernais, so celebrated for the graces of his wit, and a few others. They used to look around to see that the doors were all shut, and then they would say, "Now let us sit down and chat about the old court; let us revisit Versailles once more." Bonaparte falls in with the former aristocracy.

The poverty of the treasury and the scarcity of specie were so great during the republic that on the departure of General Bonaparte to join the army of Italy all his efforts, joined to those of the Directory, only resulted in raising two thousand louis, which he carried with him in his carriage. With this sum he set out to conquer Italy, and to advance toward the empire of the world. The following is a curious fact. An order of the day was issued, signed by Berthier, directing the general in chief, on his arrival at the headquarters at Nice, to distribute to the different generals the sum of four louis in specie to enable them to enter on the campaign. For a considerable time no such thing as specie had been seen. This order of the day displays the circumstances of the time more truly and faithfully than whole volumes written on the subject.

As soon as Napoleon joined the army he proved himself to be a man born to command. From that moment he filled the theater of the world; he occupied all Europe; he was a meteor blazing in the firmament; he centered all eyes on himself, riveted all thoughts, and formed the subject of all conversation. From that time every gazette, every publication, every monument became the record of his deeds. His name was inscribed on every page and in every line, and echoed from every mouth.

His entrance upon the command produced a revolution in his manners, conduct, and language. Decrès has often told me that he was at Toulon when he first heard of Napoleon's appointment to the command of the army of Italy. He had known him well in Paris and thought himself on terms of Bonaparte alters his friendly manner.

perfect intimacy with him. "So," said he, "when we learned that the new general was about to pass through the city, I immediately proposed to introduce my comrades to him, and to turn my former connection with him to the best account. I hastened to meet him full of eagerness and joy. The door of the apartment was thrown open, and I was on the point of rushing toward him with my wonted familiarity; but his attitude, his look, the tone of his voice suddenly deterred me. There was nothing offensive either in his appearance or manner, but the impression he produced was sufficient to prevent me from ever again attempting to encroach upon the distance that separated us."

Bonaparte's freedom from greed.

Napoleon's generalship was characterized by the skill, energy, and purity of his military administration; his constant dislike of peculation of any kind, and his total disregard of his own private interest. "I returned from the campaign in Italy," said he, "with but three hundred thousand francs in my possession. I might easily have carried off ten or twelve millions and have kept it for my own. I never made out any accounts, nor was I ever asked for any. I expected, on my return, to receive some great national reward. It was publicly reported that Chambord was to be given to me, and I should have been very glad to have had the chateau; but the idea was set aside by the Directory. I had, however, sent back to France at least fifty millions for the service of the state. This I imagine was the first instance in modern history of an army contributing to maintain the country to which it belonged instead of being a burden to it."

The young and rather inexperienced General Bonaparte had to lead his ill-equipped troops against the combined armies of Austria and of the king of Sardinia. His success was, nevertheless, immediate; and after the opening victories in the mountains separating France from Piedmont, he found himself in a position to cheer his troops by the following proclamation:

HEADQUARTERS AT CHERASCO,
7th Floréal, Year IV [April 26, 1796].

Soldiers:

421. Bonaparte's proclamation to his soldiers on their arrival in Italy.

You have in a fortnight won six victories, taken twenty-one standards, fifty-five pieces of artillery, several strong places, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners and killed or wounded more than ten thousand men. Previously you had fought for sterile crags, which, although you made them famous by your prowess, were useless to your country; to-day your services put you on a footing with the army of Holland or of the Rhine.

Without any resources you have supplied all that was necessary. You have won battles without cannons, passed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, camped without brandy and often without bread. Only republican phalanxes, soldiers of liberty, would have been able to bear what you have borne. Thanks be to you, soldiers, for this. Your grateful country will owe its prosperity to you. As conquerors at Toulon you but foreshadowed the immortal campaign of 1794; even so your present victories are but harbingers of still greater.

The two armies which but recently attacked you with confidence are fleeing in consternation before you. Those misguided men who laughed at your misery and rejoiced in the thought of the triumph of your enemies have been confounded.

But, soldiers, you have done nothing as yet compared with what there still remains to do. Neither Turin nor Milan yet belongs to you. . . . You were destitute of everything at the opening of the campaign; to-day you are provided abundantly. Numerous stores have been taken from your enemies and siege and field guns have arrived.

Soldiers, your country is justified in expecting great things of you. Will you fulfill its hopes? The greatest obstacles undoubtedly have been overcome, but you have still battles to fight, cities to take, rivers to cross. Is there any one among you whose courage is slackening? Is there any one who would prefer to return across the summits of the Apennines and

the Alps and bear patiently the insults of a slavish soldiery? No, there is none such among the conquerors of Montenotte, of Dego, of Mondovi. All of you are burning to extend the glory of the French people. All long to humiliate those haughty kings who dare to contemplate placing us in fetters. All desire to dictate a glorious peace and one which will indemnify our country for the immense sacrifices which it has made; all would wish, as they return to their native villages, to be able to say proudly, "I was with the victorious army of Italy!"

Stern prohibition of pillage.

Friends, I can promise you this conquest, but there is one condition which you must swear to fulfill. That is to respect the peoples whom you deliver, and repress the horrible pillage which certain rascals, incited by our enemies, commit. Otherwise, you will not be the deliverers of the people but their scourge; you will not do honor to the French people, but will thereby disavow your country. Your victories, your bravery, your success, the blood of our brothers who have died in battle, — all will be lost, even honor and glory. As for me and the generals who have your confidence, we should blush to command an army without discipline and restraint, which recognizes no law but force. . . . Any one who engages in pillage will be shot without mercy.

Peoples of Italy, the French army comes to break your chains; the French people is the friend of all peoples. You may receive them with confidence. Your property, your religion, and your customs will be respected. We are carrying on war as generous enemies, and we have no grudge except against the tyrants who oppress you.

BONAPARTE.

Bourrienne, one of Napoleon's early companions and later his secretary, gives us an account in his memoirs of the motives which led General Bonaparte to sign the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

The early appearance of bad weather hastened Napoleon's determination. On the 13th of October, at daybreak, on

opening my window I perceived the mountains covered with snow. The previous night had been superb, and the autumn, till then, had promised to be fine and late. I proceeded, as I always did at seven o'clock in the morning, to the general's chamber. I awoke him and told him what I had seen. He feigned at first to disbelieve me, then leaped from his bed, ran to the window, and, convinced of the sudden change, he calmly said, "What! before the middle of October? What a country! Well, we must make peace." While he hastily put on his clothes I read the journals to him, as is my daily custom. He paid but little attention to them.

422. How Bonaparte was led to sign the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

Shutting himself up with me in his closet, he reviewed with the greatest care all the returns from the different corps of his army. "Here are," said he, "nearly eighty thousand effective men. I feed, I pay them; but I can bring but sixty thousand into the field on the day of battle. I shall gain it, but afterwards my force will be reduced by twenty thousand men, — by killed, wounded, and prisoners. How then shall I oppose all the Austrian forces that will march to the protection of Vienna? It would be a month before the armies could support me, if they should be able to do it at all; and in a fortnight all the roads and passes will be covered deep with snow. It is settled — I will make peace. Venice shall pay for the expense of the war and the boundary of the Rhine; let the Directory and the lawyers say what they like."

He wrote to the Directory in the following words: "The summits of the hills are covered with snow; I cannot, on account of the stipulations agreed to in regard to the recommencement of hostilities, open them again for twenty-five days, and by that time we shall be overwhelmed with snow."

. . . It is well known that by the Treaty of Campo-Formio the two belligerent powers made peace at the expense of the republic of Venice, which had nothing to do with the quarrel in the first instance, and which only interfered at a late period, probably against her own inclination, and impelled by the force of inevitable circumstances. But what has been the result of this great political spoliation? A portion of the

Provisions of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

Destruction of the Venetian republic.

Venetian territory was adjudged to the Cisalpine republic; it is now in the possession of Austria. Another considerable portion, including the capital itself, fell to the lot of Austria in compensation for the Belgian provinces and Lombardy, which she ceded to France.

Bonaparte disregards the instructions of the Directory.

. . . The Directory was far from being satisfied with the Treaty of Campo-Formio and with difficulty resisted the temptation not to ratify it. A fortnight before the signature of the treaty, the directors wrote to General Bonaparte that they would not consent to give the emperor Venice, Friuli, Padua, and the Venetian *terra firma*, with the Adige as a boundary. "That," they said, "would not be to make peace, but to postpone the war. We shall be regarded as the beaten party, independently of the disgrace of abandoning Venice, which Bonaparte himself thought so worthy of freedom. France ought not, and never will wish, to see Italy delivered up to Austria." . . . All this was, however, said in vain. Bonaparte made no scruple of disregarding his instructions.

III. The Egyptian Expedition: the 18th Brumaire

After the first disasters in Egypt, Bonaparte thus encouraged his troops:

Headquarters, Cairo, 1st Vendémiaire, Year VII.

Soldiers:

423. Bonaparte's proclamation to his Egyptian army (September 22, 1798).

We are celebrating the first day of the seventh year of the republic. Five years ago the independence of the French people was threatened, but you took Toulon; this was a harbinger of the ruin of our enemies. A year later you defeated the Austrians at Dego; the following year you were on the summit of the Alps. Two years ago you were fighting for Mantua, and you gained the famous victory of St. George. Last year you were at the sources of the Drave and the Isonzo, and had returned from Germany. Who would have said then that you would to-day be upon the banks of the Nile in the midst of an ancient continent?

The eyes of the world are centered upon you, from those of the English, famed in arts and trade, to the wild and hideous Bedouin.

Soldiers, your destiny is a glorious one, because you are worthy of all that you have accomplished and of the fame which you enjoy. You will die with honor like the brave men whose names are inscribed upon this pyramid,[1] or you will return to your country covered with laurels and a source of wonder to all.

During the five months which we have been absent from Europe we have been the object of constant solicitude on the part of our compatriots. To-day, forty millions of citizens celebrate the advent of representative government; these forty millions are thinking of you, and are saying, "It is to their labors and to their blood that we shall owe a general peace, tranquillity, flourishing commerce, and the advantages of civil liberty."

One of Bonaparte's companions in Egypt reports the following conference between the general and the muftis, or expounders of the Mohammedan laws.

424. Bonaparte informs the Mohammedans that he is their friend.

Whilst at Cairo, Bonaparte, on a visit to the pyramids, seated himself on the Soros and held a long conversation with the muftis. "Glory to Allah!" said he; "there is no other God but God. Mohammed is his prophet and I am his friend. Muftis! the divine Koran is the delight of my soul and the object of my contemplation. I love the Prophet, and I hope erelong to see and honor his tomb in the Holy City.

"But my mission is first to exterminate the Mamelukes. If Egypt be their portion, let them show me the lease that God has given them. But the angel of death has breathed upon them: we are come and they have disappeared. The days of regeneration are come. He that hath ears, let him hear. The hour of political resurrection has struck for all

[1] A wooden pyramid on which were inscribed the names of the officers and soldiers who had already fallen in Egypt.

who groan under oppression. Muftis, imams, mollahs, dervishes, and kalenders: instruct the people of Egypt; encourage them to join in our labors to complete the destruction of the Beys and the Mamelukes. Favor the commerce of the Franks in your country and their endeavors to arrive at the ancient land of Brahma. Let them have storehouses in your ports, and drive far from you the English, accursed among the children of Jesus! Such is the will of Mohammed. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the Franks shall be your lot till you ascend to the seventh heaven and are seated by the side of the black-eyed houris who are endowed with perpetual youth and maidenhood."

Felicitations of the Mohammedan muftis.

The Mohammedan muftis in return called him an envoy of God, the favorite of Mohammed, the successor of Iskander [i.e. Alexander the Great] most valiant among the children of Jesus. "May the Prophet," said one of them, "cause thee to sit at his left hand on the day of resurrection, after the third sound of the trumpet." "At length," said another, "the dawn of happiness breaks upon us; the time destined by God has arrived; an atmosphere of felicity surrounds us. The resplendent star of victory, which guides the French warriors, has shed upon us its dazzling light; fame and honor go before them; good fortune and honor accompany them. The chief who marches at their head is impetuous and terrible; his name terrifies kings. Princes bow their haughty heads before this invincible Bonaparte."[1]

Madame de Rémusat, whose husband was one of Napoleon's secretaries, gives, in her delightful and important memoirs, a good account of Bonaparte's attitude toward the Egyptian adventure and his return to France. He said to her:

When I returned to France I found public opinion in a lethargic condition. In Paris — and Paris is France —

[1] Similar sentiments are expressed in some of Bonaparte's proclamations printed in his correspondence and in the extract from the memoirs of Madame de Rémusat, given below.

people can never interest themselves in things if they do not care about the persons connected with them. The customs of an old monarchy had taught them to personify everything. This habit of mind is bad for a people who desire liberty seriously; but Frenchmen can no longer desire anything seriously, except perhaps it be equality, and even that they would renounce willingly if every one could flatter himself that he was the first.

425. Bonaparte's attitude toward his Egyptian adventure.

To be equals, with everybody uppermost, is the secret of the vanity of all of you; every man among you must, therefore, be given the hope of rising. The great difficulty that the Directory labored under was that no one cared about them and that people had begun to care a great deal about me.

I do not know what would have happened to me had I not conceived the happy thought of going to Egypt. When I embarked I did not know but that I might be bidding an eternal farewell to France; but I had little doubt that she would recall me. The charm of Oriental conquest drew my thoughts away from Europe more than I should have believed possible. My imagination interfered again this time with my actions; but I think it died out at St. Jean d'Acre. However that may be, I shall never allow it to interfere with me again.

Bonaparte's dreams of Oriental conquest.

In Egypt I found myself free from the wearisome restraints of civilization. I dreamed all sorts of things, and I saw how all that I dreamed might be realized. I created a religion. I pictured myself on the road to Asia mounted on an elephant, with a turban on my head, and in my hand a new Koran, which I should compose according to my own ideas. I would have the combined experience of two worlds to set about my enterprise; I was to have ransacked, for my own advantage, the whole domain of history; I was to have attacked the English power in India, and renewed my relations with old Europe by my conquest.

The time which I passed in Egypt was the most delightful part of my life, for it was the most ideal. Fate decided against my dreams; I received letters from France; I saw that there was not a moment to lose. I reverted to the

realities of life and I returned to Paris — to Paris, where the gravest interests of the country are discussed during the *entr'acte* of the opera.

Bonaparte's policy on his return from Egypt.

The Directory trembled at my return. I was very cautious; that is one of the epochs of my life in which I have acted with the soundest judgment. I saw Abbé Sieyès, and promised him that his verbose constitution should be put into effect; I received the chiefs of the Jacobins and the agents of the Bourbons; I listened to advice from everybody, but gave it only in the interest of my own plans. I hid myself from the people, because I knew that when the time came curiosity to see me would make them run after me. Every one was taken in my toils; and, when I became head of the state, there was not a party in France which did not build some special hope upon my success.

General Bonaparte thus described for the benefit of the public his *coup d'état*:

426. Bonaparte's own account of his *coup d'état* of Brumaire.

To the People: 19th Brumaire, 11 o'clock P.M.

Frenchmen, on my return to France I found division reigning among all the authorities. They agreed only on this single point, that the constitution was half destroyed and was unable to protect liberty.

Each party in turn came to me, confided to me their designs, imparted their secrets, and requested my support. But I refused to be the man of a party.

The Council of Elders appealed to me. I answered their appeal. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men whom the nation has been accustomed to regard as the defenders of liberty, equality, and property. This plan required calm deliberation, free from all influence and all fear. The Elders therefore resolved upon the removal of the legislative bodies to St. Cloud. They placed at my disposal the force necessary to secure their independence. I was bound, in duty to my fellow-citizens, to the soldiers perishing in our armies, and to the national glory acquired at the cost of so much blood, to accept the command.

The Council assembled at St. Cloud. Republican troops guaranteed their safety from without, but assassins created terror within. Many deputies in the Council of Five Hundred, armed with stilettos and pistols, spread the menace of death around them.

The plans which ought to have been developed were withheld. The majority of the Council was disorganized, the boldest orators were disconcerted, and the futility of submitting any salutary proposition was quite evident.

General Bonaparte favorably received by the Council of the Elders

I proceeded, filled with indignation and chagrin, to the Council of the Elders. I besought them to carry their noble designs into execution. I directed their attention to the evils of the nation, which were their motives for conceiving those designs. They concurred in giving me new proofs of their unanimous good will.

Bonaparte claims that he was murderously assailed in the Council of the Five Hundred.

I presented myself before the Council of the Five Hundred alone, unarmed, my head uncovered, just as the Elders had received and applauded me. My object was to restore to the majority the expression of its will and to secure to it its power.

The stilettos which had menaced the deputies were instantly raised against their deliverer. Twenty assassins rushed upon me and aimed at my breast. The grenadiers of the Legislative Body, whom I had left at the door of the hall, ran forward and placed themselves between me and the assassins. One of these brave grenadiers [Thomé] had his clothes pierced by a stiletto.[1] They bore me out.

At the same moment cries of "Outlaw him!" were raised against the defender of the law. It was the horrid cry of assassins against the power destined to repress them. They crowded around the president [Lucien Bonaparte] uttering threats. With arms in their hands, they commanded him to declare me outlawed. I was informed of this. I ordered him to be rescued from their fury, and six grenadiers of the legislative body brought him out. Immediately afterwards

[1] Thomé had a small part of his coat torn by a deputy who took him by the collar. This constituted, according to Bourrienne, the whole of the attempted assassination of the 19th Brumaire.

some grenadiers of the legislative body charged the hall and cleared it.

The seditious, thus intimidated, dispersed and fled. The majority, freed from their assailants, returned freely and peaceably into the hall, listened to the propositions for the public safety, deliberated, and drew up the salutary resolution which will become the new and provisional law of the republic.

Frenchmen, you will doubtless recognize in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty, of a citizen devoted to the republic. Conservative, judicial, and liberal ideas resumed their sway upon the dispersion of those seditious persons who had domineered in the councils and who proved themselves the most odious and contemptible of men.

BONAPARTE.

IV. MARENGO AND LUNÉVILLE

Bourrienne thus sketches the campaign of Marengo:

427. The campaign of Marengo as described by Bourrienne.

Situation of Bonaparte after Brumaire.

It cannot be denied that if, from the 18th Brumaire to the epoch when Bonaparte began the campaign, innumerable improvements had been made in the internal affairs of France, foreign affairs could not be viewed with the same satisfaction. Italy had been lost, and the Austrian camp fires might be seen from the frontiers of Provence. Bonaparte was not ignorant of the difficulties of his position, and it was even on account of these very difficulties that, whatever might be the result of his hazardous enterprise, he wished to have it over as quickly as possible. He cherished no illusions and often said all must be staked to gain all.

The army which the First Consul was preparing to attack, was numerous, well disciplined, and victorious. His own with the exception of a very small number of troops, was composed of conscripts; but these conscripts were commanded by officers whose ardor was unparalleled. Bonaparte's fortune was now to depend on the winning or losing of a single battle. A battle lost would have dispelled all the

dreams of his imagination, and with them would have vanished all his immense schemes for the future of France. . . .

Crossing of the St. Bernard pass (May, 1800)

The grand idea of the invasion of Italy by way of the St. Bernard pass emanated exclusively from the First Consul. This miraculous achievement justly excited the admiration of the world. The incredible difficulties it presented did not daunt the courage of Bonaparte's troops, and his generals, accustomed as they had been to brave fatigue and danger, regarded without concern the gigantic enterprise of the modern Hannibal.

A convent, or hospice, which has been established on the mountain for the purpose of affording assistance to solitary travelers, sufficiently attests the dangers of these stormy regions. But the St. Bernard was now to be crossed not by solitary travelers but by an army. Cavalry, baggage, timbers, and artillery were now to wend their way along those narrow paths where the goatherd cautiously picks his footsteps. On the one hand masses of snow suspended above our heads threatened every moment to break in avalanches and sweep us away in their descent; on the other, a false step was death. We all passed, men and horses, one by one along the goat paths. The artillery was dismounted and the guns put into hollowed trunks of trees were drawn by ropes. . . .

(Condensed.)

We arrived at Milan on the 2d of June. But little resistance was offered to our entrance into the capital of Lombardy. The First Consul passed six days in the city, and the time approached when all was to be lost or won. On the 13th the First Consul slept at Torre di Galifolo. On the morning of the 14th General Desaix was sent toward Novi to observe the road to Genoa, which city had fallen several days before, in spite of the efforts of its illustrious defender, Masséna.

The battle of Marengo.

That memorable battle of Marengo, of which the results were incalculable, has been described in various ways. For my part, not having had the honor to bear a sword, I cannot say that I saw any particular movements executed this way or that; but I may mention here what I heard on the evening of the battle concerning the hazards of the day. As to the part which the First Consul took in it, the reader

Bonaparte claims all the glory for himself.

is perhaps sufficiently acquainted with his character to account for it. He did not choose that a result so decisive should be attributed to any other cause than the combinations of his genius; and if I had not known his insatiable thirst for glory, I should have been surprised at the half satisfaction evinced at the cause of the success amidst the joy manifested for the success itself. It must be confessed that in this he is very unlike Jourdan, Hoche, Kléber, and Moreau, who were ever ready to acknowledge the services of those who had fought under their orders.

Within two hours of the time when the divisions commanded by Desaix left San Giuliano I was joyfully surprised by the triumphant return of the army whose fate, since the morning, had caused me so much anxiety. Never did fortune within so short a time show herself under two such various faces. At two o'clock everything indicated the misery of a defeat with all its fatal consequences; at five, victory was again faithful to the flag of Arcola. Italy was reconquered at a single blow, and the crown of France appeared in the distance [to the victorious general].

The Treaty of Campo-Formio (see above, pp. 472 *sqq.*) was the fruit of Bonaparte's first campaign in Italy (1796–1797). After the temporary reverses suffered by France during Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, his victory over the Austrians at Marengo, and another victory of the French at Hohenlinden in December, 1800, put the First Consul in a position to exact at Lunéville all the concessions which Austria had made at Campo-Formio and somewhat more. The chief provisions of this important treaty are here given. They well illustrate the unscrupulous manner in which Austria and France disposed of the lesser countries and the system of reckless territorial changes which are so conspicuous during the whole Napoleonic period.

428. Chief articles of the Peace of Lunéville (February, 1801).

His Majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, and the First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, induced by a common desire to put an end to the evils of war, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity. Moreover his said Imperial and Royal Majesty, since he desires no less sincerely to extend the benefits of peace to the German empire, and since the existing conditions do not afford the necessary time to consult the empire, or to permit its representatives to take part in the negotiations, has resolved, in view of the concessions made by the deputation of the empire at the recent Congress of Rastadt, to treat in the name of the German confederation, as has happened before under similar circumstances.

Hence the contracting parties have named the following as their plenipotentiaries:

His Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Sieur Louis, count of Cobenzl, minister of conferences and vice chancellor of the court and of state, etc.

The First Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte, councilor of state. These having exchanged their credentials, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I. Peace, amity, and a good understanding shall hereafter exist forever between his Majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, acting both in his own name and in that of the German empire, and the French republic; . . .

Austrian Netherlands ceded to France.

II. The cession of the former Belgian provinces to the French republic, stipulated in Article III of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, is renewed here in the most solemn manner. His Majesty the emperor and king therefore renounces for himself and his successors, as well on his own part as on that of the German empire, all right and title to the above specified provinces, which shall be held in perpetuity by the French republic in full sovereignty and proprietary right. . . .

III. Moreover, in confirmation of Article VI of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, his Majesty the emperor and king shall

Venice and most of its territory ceded to Austria.

possess in full sovereignty and proprietary right the countries enumerated below, to wit: Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands of the Adriatic, formerly belonging to Venice, dependent upon them; the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagunes, and the territory included between the hereditary states of his Majesty the emperor and king, the Adriatic Sea, and the Adige from the point where it leaves Tyrol to that where it flows into the Adriatic, the channel of the Adige forming the boundary line. . . .

Duke of Modena indemnified in Germany.

IV. Article XVIII of the Treaty of Campo-Formio is likewise renewed, inasmuch as his Majesty the emperor and king agrees to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the territory which this prince and his heirs possessed in Italy, the Breisgau, which he shall hold upon the same conditions as those upon which he held Modena.

Tuscany given to duke of Parma, who belonged to the Spanish royal family.

V. It is further agreed that his Royal Highness the grand duke of Tuscany shall renounce for himself, his successors, or possible claimants, the grand duchy of Tuscany and that part of the island of Elba belonging to it, as well as all rights and titles resulting from the possession of the said states, which shall hereafter be held in full sovereignty and proprietary right by his Royal Highness the infante duke of Parma. The grand duke shall receive a complete and full indemnity in Germany for the loss of his states in Italy. . . .

Cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France.

VI. His Majesty the emperor and king consents not only on his part but upon the part of the German empire that the French republic shall hereafter possess in full sovereignty and proprietary right the territories and domains lying on the left bank of the Rhine and forming a part of the German empire, so that, in conformity with the concessions granted by the deputation of the empire at the Congress of Rastadt and approved by the emperor, the channel of the Rhine shall hereafter form the boundary between the French republic and the German empire, from that point where the Rhine leaves Helvetian territory to the point where it reaches Batavian territory. In view of this the French republic formally renounces all possessions whatsoever upon the right bank of the Rhine and agrees to restore to their owners the

following places: Düsseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Phillipsburg, the fortress of Cassel and other fortifications across from Mayence on the right bank of the stream, and the fortress of Kiel and Alt-Breisach, under the express provision that these places and forts shall continue to exist in the state in which they are left at the time of the evacuation.

Dispossessed German rulers to be indemnified within the empire.

VII. Since, in consequence of this cession made by the empire to the French republic, various princes and states of the empire find themselves individually dispossessed in part or wholly of their territory, and since the German empire should collectively support the losses resulting from the stipulations of the present treaty, it is agreed between his Majesty the emperor and king, — both on his part and upon the part of the German empire, — and the French republic, that, in accordance with the principles laid down at the Congress of Rastadt, the empire shall be bound to furnish the hereditary princes who have lost possessions upon the left bank of the Rhine an indemnity within the empire according to such arrangements as shall be determined later in accordance with the stipulations here made. . . .

New states to be included in the treaty.

XI. The present treaty of peace, . . . is declared to be common to the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics. The contracting parties mutually guarantee the independence of the said republics and the freedom of the inhabitants of the said countries to adopt such form of government as they shall see fit.

Cisalpine republic.

XII. His Majesty the emperor and king renounces for himself and for his successors in favor of the Cisalpine republic all rights and titles depending upon such rights, which his Majesty might assert over the territories in Italy which he possessed before the war and which, according to the terms of Article VIII of the Treaty of Campo-Formio, now form a part of the Cisalpine republic. . . .

XIX. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the emperor and king, the empire, and the French republic within a period of thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and it is further understood that the armies of the two powers shall remain in their present positions, both in Germany

and Italy, until the said ratifications of the emperor and king, of the empire, and of the French republic shall have been simultaneously exchanged at Lunéville between the respective plenipotentiaries. It is also agreed that within ten days after the exchange of the said ratifications the armies of his imperial and royal majesty shall be withdrawn into his hereditary possessions, which shall be evacuated within the same space of time by the French armies; and within thirty days after the said exchange the French armies shall have completely evacuated the territory of the said empire.

Done and signed at Lunéville, February 9, 1801 (the 20th Pluviôse of the year nine of the French republic).

(Signed) Louis, Count of Cobenzl.
Joseph Bonaparte.

V. Personal Characteristics of General Bonaparte

The son of Madame de Rémusat thus recalls how, when a little boy, he caught a glimpse of the First Consul:

429. Bonaparte's manners when First Consul.

One day my mother came for me (I think she had accompanied Madame Bonaparte into the court of the Tuileries) and took me up a staircase full of soldiers, at whom I stared hard. One of them who was coming down spoke to her; he wore an infantry uniform. "Who was that?" I asked, when he had passed. It was Louis Bonaparte. Then I saw a young man going upstairs in the well-known uniform of the [corps known as the] guides. His name I did not need to ask. Children in those days knew the insignia of every rank and corps in the army, and who did not know that Eugene Beauharnais was colonel of the guides?

At last we reached Madame Bonaparte's drawing-room. At first there was no one there but herself, one or two ladies, and my father, wearing his red coat embroidered in

silver. I was probably kissed — or, perhaps they thought me grown; then no one noticed me any further. Soon an officer of the consul's guard entered. He was short, thin, and carried himself badly, or at least carelessly. I was sufficiently drilled in etiquette to observe that he moved about a great deal and made rather free. Among other things I was surprised to see him sit on the arm of a chair. From thence he spoke across a considerable distance to my mother. We were in front of him, and I remarked his thin, almost wan face, with its brown and yellowish tints. We drew near to him while he spoke. When I was within his reach he noticed me; he took me by my two ears and pulled them rather roughly. He hurt me, and had I not been in a palace I should have cried. Then turning to my father, he said, "Is he learning mathematics?" Soon I was taken away. "Who is that soldier?" I asked my mother. "That soldier is the First Consul."

Careless deportment of Bonaparte.

Bonaparte's disregard of others and his insolent attitude toward those who served him are seen in the following incident reported by Madame de Rémusat.

Bonaparte dictated with great ease. He never wrote anything with his own hand. His handwriting was bad and as illegible to himself as to others; and his spelling was very defective. He utterly lacked patience to do anything whatever with his own hands. The extreme activity of his mind and the habitual prompt obedience rendered to him prevented him from practicing any occupation in which the mind must necessarily wait for the action of the body. Those who wrote from his dictation — first Monsieur Bourrienne, then Monsieur Maret, and Méneval, his private secretary — had made a shorthand for themselves in order that their pens might travel as fast as his thoughts.

429a. How Bonaparte made others uncomfortable.

He dictated while walking to and fro in his cabinet. When he grew angry he would use violent imprecations, which were suppressed in writing and which had, at least, the advantage of giving the writer time to catch up with

him. He never repeated anything that he had once said, even if it had not been heard; and this was very hard on the poor secretary, for Bonaparte remembered accurately what he had said and detected every omission.

One day he read a tragedy in manuscript, and it interested him sufficiently to inspire him with a fancy to make some alterations in it. "Take a pen and paper," said he to Monsieur de Rémusat, "and write for me." Hardly giving my husband time to seat himself at a table, he began to dictate so quickly that Monsieur de Rémusat, although accustomed to write with great rapidity, was bathed in perspiration while trying to follow him. Bonaparte perceived his difficulty, and would stop now and then to say, "Come, try to understand me, for I will not repeat what I say."

Bonaparte's conviction that zeal depends upon disquietude.

He always derived amusement from causing any one uneasiness and distress. His great general principle, which he applied to everything, both great and small, was that there could be no zeal where there was no disquietude. Fortunately he forgot to ask for the sheet of observations he had dictated. Monsieur de Rémusat and I have often tried to read it since, but we have never been able to make out a word of it.

Bonaparte might freely tease his attendants and secretaries, but, in his early days at least, he took great pains to win the hearts of his soldiers.

429b. How Bonaparte won the hearts of his soldiers. (From Madame de Rémusat's *Memoirs.*)

Bonaparte's reception by the troops was nothing short of rapturous. It was well worth seeing how he talked to the soldiers, — how he questioned them one after the other respecting their campaigns or their wounds, taking particular interest in the men who had accompanied him to Egypt. I have heard Madame Bonaparte say that her husband was in the constant habit of poring over the list of what are called the *cadres* of the army at night before he slept. He would go to sleep repeating the names of the corps, and even those of some of the individuals who composed them; he kept these names in a corner of his memory,

and this habit came to his aid when he wanted to recognize a soldier and to give him the pleasure of a cheering word from his general. He spoke to the subalterns in a tone of good-fellowship, which delighted them all, as he reminded them of their common feats of arms.

Afterwards when his armies became so numerous and his battles so deadly, he disdained to exercise this kind of fascination. Besides, death had extinguished so many remembrances that in a few years it became difficult for him to find any great number of the companions of his early exploits; and when he addressed his soldiers before leading them into battle, it was as a perpetually renewed posterity to which the preceding and destroyed army had bequeathed its glory. But even this somber style of encouragement availed for a long time with a nation which believed itself to be fulfilling its destiny while sending its sons year after year to die for Bonaparte.

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[For the general bibliography of the Napoleonic period, see close of the following chapter.]

CHAPTER XXXVIII

EUROPE AND NAPOLEON

I. General Bonaparte becomes Emperor Napoleon I: his Early Reforms in France

Madame de Rémusat suggests the following reasons why the French people so readily subjected themselves to the despotism of Napoleon.

430. Why the French people submitted to Bonaparte's rule.

I can understand how it was that men worn out by the turmoil of the Revolution, and afraid of that liberty which had long been associated with death, looked for repose under the dominion of an able ruler on whom fortune was seemingly resolved to smile. I can conceive that they regarded his elevation as a decree of destiny and fondly believed that in the irrevocable they should find peace. I may confidently assert that those persons believed quite sincerely that Bonaparte, whether as consul or emperor, would exert his authority to oppose the intrigues of faction and would save us from the perils of anarchy.

None dared to utter the word "republic," so deeply had the Terror stained that name; and the government of the Directory had perished in the contempt with which its chiefs were regarded. The return of the Bourbons could only be brought about by the aid of a revolution; and the slightest disturbance terrified the French people, in whom enthusiasm of every kind seemed dead. Besides, the men in whom they had trusted had one after the other deceived them; and as, this time, they were yielding to force, they were at least certain that they were not deceiving themselves.

The belief, or rather the error, that only despotism could at that epoch maintain order in France was very widespread.

It became the mainstay of Bonaparte; and it is due to him to say that he also believed it. The factions played into his hands by imprudent attempts which he turned to his own advantage. He had some grounds for his belief that he was necessary; France believed it, too; and he even succeeded in persuading foreign sovereigns that he constituted a barrier against republican influences, which, but for him, might spread widely. At the moment when Bonaparte placed the imperial crown upon his head there was not a king in Europe who did not believe that he wore his own crown more securely because of that event. Had the new emperor granted a liberal constitution, the peace of nations and of kings might really have been forever secured.

Five years after Bonaparte had become the head of the French government he sums up the general situation in France in a statement which he laid before the Legislative Body, December 31, 1804.

431. Napoleon's account of the internal situation of France in 1804. (Much condensed.)

The internal situation of France is to-day as calm as it has ever been in the most peaceful periods. There is no agitation to disturb the public tranquillity, no suggestion of those crimes which recall the Revolution. Everywhere useful enterprises are in progress, and the general improvements, both public and private, attest the universal confidence and sense of security. . . .

Reasons for establishing an empire in place of the consulate.

A plot conceived by an implacable government was about to replunge France into the abyss of civil war and anarchy. The discovery of this horrible crime stirred all France profoundly, and anxieties that had scarcely been calmed again awoke. Experience has taught that a divided power in the state is impotent and at odds with itself. It was generally felt that if power was delegated for short periods only it was so uncertain as to discourage any prolonged undertakings or wide-reaching plans. If vested in an individual for life, it would lapse with him, and after him would prove a source of anarchy and discord. It was clearly seen that for a great nation the only salvation lies in hereditary

power, which can alone assure a continuous political life which may endure for generations, even for centuries.

The Senate, as was proper, served as the organ through which this general apprehension found expression. The necessity of hereditary power in a state as vast as France had long been perceived by the First Consul. He had endeavored in vain to avoid this conclusion; but the public solicitude and the hopes of our enemies emphasized the importance of his task, and he realized that his death might ruin his whole work. Under such circumstances, and with such a pressure of public opinion, there was no alternative left to the First Consul. He resolved, therefore, to accept for himself, and two of his brothers after him, the burden imposed by the exigencies of the situation.

After prolonged consideration, repeated conferences with the members of the Senate, discussion in the councils, and the suggestions of the most prudent advisers, a series of provisions was drawn up which regulate the succession to the imperial throne. These provisions were decreed by a *senatus consultus* of the 28th Floréal last. The French people, by a free and independent expression, then manifested its desire that the imperial dignity should pass down in a direct line through the legitimate or adopted descendants of Napoleon Bonaparte, or through the legitimate descendants of Joseph Bonaparte, or of Louis Bonaparte.

Coronation of Napoleon by the pope.

From this moment Napoleon was, by the most unquestionable of titles, emperor of the French. No other act was necessary to sanction his right and consecrate his authority. But he wished to restore in France the ancient forms and recall those institutions which divinity itself seems to have inspired. He wished to impress the seal of religion itself upon the opening of his reign. The head of the Church, in order to give the French a striking proof of his paternal affection, consented to officiate at this august ceremony. What deep and enduring impressions did this leave on the mind of Napoleon and in the memory of the nation! What thoughts for future races! What a subject of wonder for all Europe!

In the midst of this pomp, and under the eye of the Eternal, Napoleon pronounced the inviolable oath which assures the integrity of the empire, the security of property, the perpetuity of institutions, the respect for law, and the happiness of the nation. The oath of Napoleon shall be forever the terror of the enemies of France. If our borders are attacked, it will be repeated at the head of our armies, and our frontiers shall never more fear foreign invasion.

The new codes.

The principles safeguarded by the coronation oath are those of our legislation. Hereafter there will be fewer laws to submit to the Legislative Body. The civil code has fulfilled the expectations of the public; all citizens are acquainted with it; it serves as their guide in their various transactions, and is everywhere lauded as a benefaction. A draft of a criminal code has been completed for two years and has been subjected to the criticism of the courts; at this moment it is being discussed for the last time by the council of state. The code of procedure and the commercial code are still where they were a year ago, for pressing cares have diverted the emperor's attention elsewhere.

New schools

New schools are being opened, and inspectors have been appointed to see that the instruction does not degenerate into vain and sterile examinations. The *lycées* and the secondary schools are filling with youth eager for instruction. The polytechnic school is peopling our arsenals, ports, and factories with useful citizens. Prizes have been established in various branches of science, letters, and arts, and in the period of ten years fixed by his Majesty for the award of these prizes there can be no doubt that French genius will produce works of distinction.

Manufactures.

The emperor's decrees have reëstablished commerce on the left bank of the Rhine. Our manufacturers are improving, although the mercenaries subsidized by the British government vaunt, in their empty declamations, her foreign trade and her precarious resources scattered about the seas and in the Indies, while they describe our shops as deserted and our artisans as dying of hunger. In spite of this, our

industries are striking root in our own soil and are driving English commerce far from our shores. Our products now equal theirs and will soon compete with them in all the markets of the world.

Religion has resumed its sway, but exhibits itself only in acts of humanity. Adhering to a wise policy of toleration, the ministers of different sects who worship the same God do themselves honor by their mutual respect; and their rivalry confines itself to emulation in virtue. Such is our situation at home.

II. Boulogne and Austerlitz

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, Napoleon collected an army at Boulogne with the declared purpose of making a descent upon England. After some months of preparation and waiting, the soldiers became very impatient to attempt the undertaking, in spite of the many difficulties which had become apparent.

432. Impatience of the soldiers to invade England in August, 1805. (From Constant's *Memoirs.*)

Soldiers and sailors were burning with impatience to embark for England, but the moment so ardently desired was still delayed. Every evening they said to themselves, "To-morrow there will be a good wind, there will also be a fog, and we shall start." They lay down with that hope, but arose each day to find either an unclouded sky or rain.

One evening, however, when a favorable wind was blowing, I heard two sailors conversing together on the wharf and making conjectures as to the future. "The emperor would do well to start to-morrow morning," said one. "He will never have better weather and there will surely be a fog." "Yes," said the other, "only he does not think so. We have now waited more than fifteen days, and the fleet has not budged. However, all the ammunition is on board, and with one blast of the whistle we can put to sea."

The night sentinels came on, and the conversation of the old sea wolves stopped there. But I soon had to acknowledge that their nautical experience had not deceived

them. In fact, by three o'clock in the morning a light fog was spread over the sea, which was somewhat stormy; the wind of the evening before began to blow again, and at daylight the fog was so thick as to conceal the fleet from the English, while the most profound silence reigned everywhere. No hostile sails had been signaled through the night, and, as the sailors had predicted, everything favored the descent. At five o'clock in the morning signals were made from the semaphore, and in the twinkling of an eye all the sailors were in motion and the ports resounded with cries of joy, for the order to depart had just been received.

While the sails were being hoisted the long roll was beaten in the four camps, and the order was given for the entire army to take arms. They marched rapidly into the town, hardly believing what they had just heard. "We are really going to start," said all the soldiers; "we are actually going to say a few words to those Englishmen"; and the joy which animated them burst forth in acclamations which were silenced by a roll of the drums. The embarkation then took place amid profound silence, and in such perfect order that I can scarcely give an idea of it. At seven o'clock two hundred soldiers were on board the fleet; and when a little after midday this fine army was on the point of starting, amidst the adieus and good wishes of the whole city, assembled upon the walls and upon the surrounding cliffs, and at the very moment when all the soldiers, standing with uncovered heads, were about to bid farewell to the soil of France, crying, "Vive l'empereur!" a message arrived from the imperial barracks ordering the troops to disembark and return to camp. A telegraphic dispatch just received by his Majesty announced that it was necessary that he should move his troops in another direction; and the soldiers returned sadly to their quarters, some expressing in loud tones and in a very energetic manner the disappointment which this species of mystification caused them. They had always regarded the success of the enterprise against England as assured, and to find

themselves stopped on the eve of departure was, in their eyes, the greatest misfortune which could happen to them.

When order had again been restored the emperor repaired to the camp of the right wing and made a proclamation to the troops, which was sent into the other camps, and posted everywhere. This was approximately the tenor of it: "Brave soldiers of the camp of Boulogne, you will not go to England. English gold has seduced the emperor of Austria, who has just declared war against France. His army has just passed the Rhine, which he should have respected, and Bavaria is invaded. Soldiers, new victories await you beyond the Rhine. Let us hasten to defeat once more the enemies whom you have already conquered." This proclamation called forth unanimous acclamations of joy, and every face brightened, for it mattered little to these intrepid men whether they were led against Austria or England; they simply thirsted for the fray, and now that war had been declared every desire was gratified.

Thus vanished all those grand projects of descent upon England which had been so long matured, so wisely planned.

After breaking camp at Boulogne, Napoleon hurried into Germany. He surrounded and captured the Austrian army at Ulm in October. Six weeks later he defeated the combined forces of the Austrians and Russians in the memorable battle of Austerlitz. After this victory he issued the following proclamation.

433. Napoleon's proclamation to his soldiers after Austerlitz.

Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have covered yourselves with eternal glory. An army of one hundred thousand men which was commanded by the emperors of Russia and Austria has been in less than four hours either cut off or dispersed. Those that escaped your swords have thrown themselves into the lakes. Forty stands of colors, the stands of the Russian imperial guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of

cannon, twenty generals, and above thirty thousand prisoners are the fruits of this ever-memorable battle. Their infantry, so celebrated and so superior to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge, and henceforth you have no rivals to fear.

Thus in less than two months the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace cannot be far off; but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward, of my allies.

Soldiers, when the French people placed the imperial crown upon my head I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that splendor of glory which could alone give it value in my estimation. But at that moment our enemies entertained the design of tarnishing and degrading it; and the iron crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe, — an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to naught on the anniversary of your emperor's coronation. You have taught them that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten than to subdue us.

Soldiers, when everything necessary to the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of our country has been achieved, I will return you my thanks in France. Then will you be the objects of my tenderest care. My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, "I was in the battle of Austerlitz," will be enough to authorize the reply, "That is a brave man."

NAPOLEON.

HEADQUARTERS AT AUSTERLITZ,
December 3, 1805.

III. Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire

Napoleon's policy in Germany.

In no country of Europe were the effects of Napoleon's policy more striking and permanent than in Germany. The cession of the left bank of the Rhine to

France by the Treaty of Lunéville (1801) brought with it a complete reconstruction of the remainder of Germany, since the dispossessed princes were to be indemnified with lands within the empire. Accordingly the ecclesiastical states and the free imperial towns, once so important among the German states, were, with a few exceptions, incorporated into the territories of neighboring secular princes by the great Imperial Recess of 1803. The little holdings of the knights were quietly absorbed by the new "sovereigns" within whose territories they happened to lie. The map of Germany was thus much simplified, and the ancient and hopeless subdivision of Germany greatly diminished.

Napoleon had no desire to unify Germany, but wished to have several independent states, or groups of states, which he could conveniently bring under his control. Consequently, when it came to arranging the Treaty of Pressburg after his great victory at Austerlitz, Napoleon forced the defeated emperor to recognize the rulers of Würtemberg and Bavaria as "kings" and the elector of Baden as enjoying "the plenitude of sovereignty." In short, he proposed that the three most important princes of southern Germany should be as independent as the king of Prussia or the emperor himself, and that, moreover, they should owe their elevation to him. He then formed a union of these new sovereigns and of other German rulers, which was called the Confederation of the Rhine. In the rather insolent message given below he informs the diet of the empire that the new union, of which he is to be the protector, will be incompatible with the continued existence of the venerable Holy Roman Empire.

434. Napoleon informs the German diet of the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine (August 1, 1806).

The undersigned, *chargé d'affaires* of his Majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, at the general diet of the German empire, has received orders from his Majesty to make the following declarations to the diet:

Their Majesties the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg, the sovereign princes of Ratisbon, Baden, Burg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Nassau, as well as the other leading princes[1] of the south and west of Germany, have resolved to form a confederation between themselves which shall secure them against future contingencies, and have thus ceased to be states of the empire.

The position in which the Treaty of Pressburg has explicitly placed the courts allied to France, and indirectly those princes whose territory they border or surround, being incompatible with the existence of an empire, it becomes a necessity for those rulers to reorganize their relations upon a new system and to remove a contradiction which could not fail to be a permanent source of agitation, disquiet, and danger.

France, on the other hand, is directly interested in the maintenance of peace in southern Germany and yet must apprehend that the moment she shall cause her troops to recross the Rhine discord, the inevitable consequence of contradictory, uncertain, and ill-defined conditions, will again disturb the peace of the people and reopen, possibly, the war on the continent. Feeling it incumbent upon her to advance the welfare of her allies and to assure them the enjoyment of all the advantages which the Treaty of Pressburg secures to them and to which she is pledged, France cannot but regard the confederation which they have formed as a natural result and a necessary sequel to that treaty.

Sad decline of the Holy Roman Empire

For a long period successive changes have, from century to century, reduced the German constitution to a shadow of its former self. Time has altered all the relations, in

[1] The confederation was joined from time to time by many more German states.

respect to size and importance, which originally existed among the various members of the confederation, both as regards each other and the whole of which they have formed a part.

The diet has no longer a will of its own; the sentences of the superior courts can no longer be executed; everything indicates such serious weakness that the federal bond no longer offers any protection whatever and only constitutes a source of dissension and discord between the powers. The results of three coalitions have increased this weakness to the last degree. . . . The Treaty of Pressburg assures complete sovereignty to their Majesties the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg and to his Highness the elector of Baden. This is a prerogative which the other electors will doubtless demand, and which they are justified in demanding; but this is in harmony neither with the letter nor the spirit of the constitution of the empire.

His Majesty the emperor and king is, therefore, compelled to declare that he can no longer acknowledge the existence of the German constitution, recognizing, however, the entire and absolute sovereignty of each of the princes whose states compose Germany to-day, maintaining with them the same relations as with the other independent powers of Europe.

His Majesty the emperor and king has accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. He has done this only with a view to peace and in order that by his constant mediation between the weak and the powerful he may obviate every species of dissension and disorder.

Having thus provided for the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors, and having assured, so far as in him lay, the future peace of Europe, and that of Germany in particular, heretofore constantly the theater of war, by removing a contradiction which placed people and princes alike under the delusive protection of a system contrary both to their political interests and to their treaties, his Majesty the emperor and king trusts that the nations of Europe will at last close their ears to the insinuations of

those who would maintain an eternal war upon the continent. He trusts that the French armies which have crossed the Rhine have done so for the last time, and that the people of Germany will no longer witness, except in the annals of the past, the horrible pictures of disorder, devastation, and slaughter which war invariably brings with it.

His Majesty declared that he would never extend the limits of France beyond the Rhine and he has been faithful to his promise. At present his sole desire is so to employ the means which Providence has confided to him as to free the seas, restore the liberty of commerce, and thus assure the peace and happiness of the world.

BACHER.

RATISBON, August 1, 1806.

After the Treaty of Pressburg and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine there was really nothing for the emperor to do except to lay down — which he did with some relief — the imperial crown which had belonged to his house with few intermissions since the times of Rudolf of Hapsburg.

435. The abdication of the last Roman emperor (August 6, 1806).

We, Francis the Second, by the grace of God Roman emperor elect, ever august, hereditary emperor of Austria, etc., king of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Galicia, Lodomeria, and Jerusalem; archduke of Austria, etc.

Since the Peace of Pressburg all our care and attention has been directed towards the scrupulous fulfillment of all engagements contracted by the said treaty, as well as the preservation of peace, so essential to the happiness of our subjects, and the strengthening in every way of the friendly relations which have been happily reëstablished. We could but await the outcome of events in order to determine whether the important changes in the German empire resulting from the terms of the peace would allow us to fulfill the weighty duties which, in view of the conditions of our election, devolve upon us as the head of the empire.

But the results of certain articles of the Treaty of Pressburg, which showed themselves immediately after its publication and since that time, as well as the events which, as is generally known, have taken place in the German empire, have convinced us that it would be impossible under these circumstances further to fulfill the duties which we assumed by the conditions of our election. Even if the prompt readjustment of existing political complications might produce an alteration in the existing conditions, the convention signed at Paris, July 12, and approved later by the contracting parties, providing for the complete separation of several important states of the empire and their union into a separate confederation, would utterly destroy any such hope.

Thus convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of our imperial office, we owe it to our principles and to our honor to renounce a crown which could only retain any value in our eyes so long as we were in a position to justify the confidence reposed in us by the electors, princes, estates, and other members of the German empire, and to fulfill the duties devolving upon us.

We proclaim, accordingly, that we consider the ties which have hitherto united us to the body politic of the German empire as hereby dissolved; that we regard the office and dignity of the imperial headship as extinguished by the formation of a separate union of the Rhenish states, and regard ourselves as thereby freed from all our obligations toward the German empire; herewith laying down the imperial crown which is associated with these obligations, and relinquishing the imperial government which we have hitherto conducted.

We free at the same time the electors, princes, and estates, and all others belonging to the empire, particularly the members of the supreme imperial courts and other magistrates of the empire, from the duties constitutionally due to us as the lawful head of the empire. Conversely, we free all our German provinces and imperial lands from all their obligations of whatever kind toward the German

empire. In uniting these, as emperor of Austria, with the whole body of the Austrian state we shall strive, with the restored and existing peaceful relations with all the powers and neighboring states, to raise them to the height of prosperity and happiness which is our keenest desire and the aim of our constant and sincerest efforts.

Done at our capital and royal residence, Vienna, August 6, 1806, in the fifteenth year of our reign as emperor and hereditary ruler of the Austrian lands.

FRANCIS.

IV. The Continental Blockade

At least as early as 1796 the French government conceived the idea of forcing its English enemy to cry for peace by ruining her commerce. This became a cherished policy of Napoleon after he had given up the idea of invading England. After his victory at Jena he felt that the time had come to put into execution his project of excluding England from the continent. England had given him an excuse for the Berlin Decree given below by declaring the coast from the river Elbe to Brest in a state of blockade (May, 1806).

FROM OUR IMPERIAL CAMP AT BERLIN, November 21, 1806.

436. The Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806). (Extracts.)

Napoleon, emperor of the French and king of Italy, in consideration of the facts:

1. That England does not recognize the system of international law universally observed by all civilized nations.

2. That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen, and even of commercial agents and of merchants traveling on business.

3. That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares, and to the property of individuals, the right of conquest which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.

4. That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbors and the mouths of rivers, the right of blockade, which, in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilized nations, is applicable only to strong places. . . . That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the continent.

8. That it is a natural right to employ such arms against an enemy as he himself makes use of, and to combat in the same way as he combats. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment implied by civilization among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the empire until England shall recognize that the law of war is one and the same on land and on sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession of arms, and that the right of blockade shall be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows.

ARTICLE I. The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

II. All commerce and all correspondence with the British Isles is forbidden. Consequently, letters or packages

directed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in the English language, shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

III. Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

IV. All warehouses, merchandise, or property of whatever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

V. Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared a lawful prize.

VII. No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies, or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree, shall be received in any port.

VIII. Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property.

X. The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the kings of Spain, of Naples, of Holland, and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects, like ours, are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

On November 11, 1807, after news of the Treaty of Tilsit had reached the English government, it replied by an order in council establishing an undisguised "paper" blockade. This, in spite of some alleged merciful exceptions, was almost a prohibition of neutral trading such as that carried on by the United States, and President Jefferson ordered the first embargo, December 22, 1807, as a retaliatory measure. Napoleon replied to England's measures by issuing his brief and cogent Milan Decree.

At our Royal Palace at Milan, December 17, 1807.

437. The Milan Decree (December 17, 1807).

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine. In view of the measures adopted by the British government on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to powers which are neutral, or are friendly to, and even allied with, England, are rendered liable to be searched by British cruisers, detained at certain stations in England, and subject to an arbitrary tax of a certain per cent upon their cargo, to be regulated by English legislation[1]:

Considering that by these acts the English government has denationalized the vessels of all the nations of Europe, and that no government may compromise in any degree its independence or its rights by submitting to such demands, — all the rulers of Europe being jointly responsible for the sovereignty and independence of their flags, — and that, if through unpardonable weakness, which would be regarded by posterity as an indelible stain, such tyranny should be admitted and become consecrated by custom, the English would take steps to give it the force of law, as they have already taken advantage of the toleration of the governments to establish the infamous principle that the flag does not cover the goods, and to give the right of blockade an arbitrary extension which threatens the sovereignty of every state:

[1] The tax imposed by England upon the cargoes of neutral ships, which is referred to in the Milan Decree, is not found in the orders of November 11, as Napoleon implies. The tax was, however, a stern reality, whatever may have been its formal origin. Professor McMaster gives an account of the practical workings of the system, so far as American ships were concerned, which he takes from the Baltimore *Evening Post* of September 2 and 27, 1808. The newspaper estimates that on her outward voyage, let us say to Holland, with four hundred hogsheads of tobacco, an American ship would pay England one and one-half pence per pound on the tobacco and twelve shillings for each ton of the ship. With $100 for the license and sundry other dues, the total amounted to toward $13,000. On the home voyage, with a cargo, let us say, of Holland gin, the American trader paid perhaps $16,500, making the total charges paid to Great Britain for a single voyage $31,000 (*History of the People of the United States*, Vol. III, pp. 308–309).

We have decreed and do decree as follows:

ARTICLE I. Every vessel, of whatever nationality, which shall submit to be searched by an English vessel, or shall consent to a voyage to England, or shall pay any tax whatever to the English government, is *ipso facto* declared denationalized, loses the protection afforded by its flag, and becomes English property.

II. Should these vessels which are thus denationalized through the arbitrary measures of the English government enter our ports or those of our allies, or fall into the hands of our ships of war or of our privateers, they shall be regarded as good and lawful prizes.

III. The British Isles are proclaimed to be in a state of blockade both by land and by sea. Every vessel, of whatever nation or whatever may be its cargo, that sails from the ports of England, or from those of the English colonies, or of countries occupied by English troops, or destined for England, or for any of the English colonies, or any country occupied by English troops, becomes, by violating the present decree, a lawful prize, and may be captured by our ships of war and adjudged to the captor. . . .

Pasquier, in his *Mémoirs*, makes the following admirable criticism of Napoleon's continental system.

438. A contemporary's criticism of Napoleon's continental system.

[Napoleon's unwise severity after the battle of Jena] was nothing compared to a measure adopted in the hour of intoxication of victory, and which, by erecting an insurmountable barrier, so to speak, between France and England, condemned each of these two powers to entertain no hopes of peace and rest until its rival was completely destroyed. . . .

Napoleon flattered himself with the idea of having found the means to deal a blow at his most deadly opponent in the matter nearest his heart. Seeing himself master of the greater part of the European coast, or at least enjoying a domination over the mouths of the principal rivers of Germany, he persuaded himself that it depended on him to close all Europe's markets to England and thus compel her

to accept peace from him at his own terms. The conception was no doubt a grand one, and the measure was no more iniquitous than that of England, but the difference lay in the fact that the latter, in her pretensions to a blockade, was not undertaking anything beyond her strength, and did not stand in need of any other nation's coöperation to carry it out.

France, on the contrary, was entering upon an undertaking which could not be put into execution without the voluntary or enforced coöperation of all the European powers. It was therefore sufficient in order to render it fruitless — and the future went to prove this — that a single one of these powers, unable to submit to the privations imposed upon it, should either announce its firm determination not to lend a hand in the matter, or should be content with finding ways of eluding it. . . .

Not only was England in a position to supply the continent with the numerous products of her industry, but she also controlled almost the entirety of all colonial wares and provisions. Hence it would become necessary, in the first place, to have recourse to all possible means calculated to make continental industry supply that which English industry would no longer furnish. In the second place, with regard to colonial products, some of which, such as sugar and coffee, were almost indispensable necessaries of life, and others of which were the actual raw material on which depended the manufactures which it was proposed to create, it was necessary to devise a means for allowing them the right of entry, but in a proportion calculated on the strictest necessity, and, if possible, by means of an exchange favorable to the natural products of the continent.

So it happened that through the most persevering and at times the most ingenious efforts, by the aid of a succession of decrees, and with the help of that strange invention of licenses which were nothing but organized smuggling, continental industry, or rather French industry, backed up with a million bayonets and with an auxiliary force of coast guards, succeeded in meeting a tremendous competition and in deriving large profits.

V. Napoleon at the Zenith

Napoleon found no difficulty in discovering divine sanction for his power. A catechism drawn up during the reign of Louis XIV by the distinguished French prelate, Bossuet, was hunted up and certain modifications made to adapt it to the times. The following questions and answers deal with the duties of French citizens towards their ruler.

439. Extracts from the imperial catechism (April, 1806)

Question. What are the duties of Christians toward those who govern them, and what in particular are our duties towards Napoleon I, our emperor?

Answer. Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the state.

Question. Why are we subject to all these duties toward our emperor?

Answer. First, because God, who has created empires and distributes them according to his will, has, by loading our emperor with gifts both in peace and in war, established him as our sovereign and made him the agent of his power and his image upon earth. To honor and serve our emperor is therefore to honor and serve God himself. Secondly, because our Lord Jesus Christ himself, both by his teaching and his example, has taught us what we owe to our sovereign. Even at his very birth he obeyed the edict of Cæsar Augustus; he paid the established tax; and while he commanded us to render to God those things which belong to God, he also commanded us to render unto Cæsar those things which are Cæsar's.

Question. Are there not special motives which should attach us more closely to Napoleon I, our emperor?

Answer. Yes, for it is he whom God has raised up in trying times to reëstablish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers and to be its protector; he has reëstablished and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom; he defends the state by his mighty arm; he has become the anointed of the Lord by the consecration which he has received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the Church universal.

Question. What must we think of those who are wanting in their duties toward our emperor?

Answer. According to the apostle Paul, they are resisting the order established by God himself and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation.[1]

The following extracts will illustrate the attitude of Napoleon toward his vast empire and the way in which he undertook to shape the destinies of all western Europe. Enraged by the refusal of the Spanish nation to accept his brother as their king, he invaded the peninsula with a large army, occupied Madrid, and in December, 1808, he issued the following proclamations.

440. Napoleon's proclamation to the Spaniards.

IMPERIAL CAMP AT MADRID, December 7, 1808.

Spaniards, you have been seduced by perfidious men. They have involved you in a mad conflict and induced you to rush to arms. Is there one among you who, if he but reflect a moment upon all that has taken place, will not be convinced that you have been the playthings of the inveterate enemy of the continent, who rejoices as she beholds the shedding of Spanish and French blood? What could be the result of your success even in several campaigns? What but a war without end and prolonged uncertainty in regard to your possessions and your very existence? In a few months you have been subjected to all the horrors of popular faction. The defeat of your armies was the affair of a few marches. I have entered Madrid. The right of war

[1] Compare Bossuet's views of the kingship (see above, pp. 272 *sqq.*).

authorizes me to make a terrible example and to wash out with blood the outrages committed against me and my nation. But my only thought is of clemency. A few men only, the authors of your misery, shall suffer. I will speedily expel from the peninsula that English army which has been dispatched to Spain, not to aid you, but to inspire in you a false confidence and to deceive you.

I informed you in my proclamation of June 2 that I wished to be your regenerator. But you have chosen that I should add to the rights ceded to me by your previous dynasty also the right of conquest. But this has not in any way altered my attitude toward you. Indeed, I must praise all that has been generous in your efforts. I would recognize that your true interests have been obscured and that you have been deceived as to the real condition of affairs.

Spaniards, your destiny is in my hands. Refuse the poison which the English have spread abroad among you; let your king be assured of your love and confidence and you will be more powerful, more happy than you have ever been. I have destroyed everything which stands in the way of your prosperity and greatness. I have broken the fetters which hampered the people. I have given you a liberal constitution, and, in the place of an absolute, I have given you a limited and constitutional monarchy. It depends upon you whether this constitution shall continue to govern you. But if all my efforts should prove useless and if you do not respond to my confidence, nothing will remain for me except to treat you as conquered provinces and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then put the crown of Spain upon my own head and I shall be able to make the wicked respect it, since God has given me the power and the will necessary to surmount all obstacles.

NAPOLEON.

The reforms which Napoleon alludes to had been issued three days before upon his arrival in Madrid. They furnish an admirable illustration of the way in

which the ideas of the French Revolution followed his armies into the conservative countries of western Europe.

IMPERIAL CAMP AT MADRID, December 4, 1808.

441. Decrees abolishing feudal dues in Spain.

To date from the publication of the present decree, feudal rights are abolished in Spain.

All personal obligations, all exclusive fishing rights and other rights of similar nature on the coast or on rivers and streams, all feudal monopolies (*banalités*) of ovens, mills, and inns are suppressed. It shall be free to every one who shall conform to the laws to develop his industry without restraint.

442. Decree abolishing the Inquisition.

The tribunal of the Inquisition is abolished, as inconsistent with the civil sovereignty and authority.

The property of the Inquisition shall be sequestered and fall to the Spanish state, to serve as security for the bonded debt.

442a. Decree abolishing monastic orders.

Considering that the members of the various monastic orders have increased to an undue degree and that, although a certain number of them are useful in assisting the ministers of the altar in the administration of the sacraments, the existence of too great a number interferes with the prosperity of the state, we have decreed and do decree as follows:

The number of convents now in existence in Spain shall be reduced to a third of their present number. This reduction shall be accomplished by uniting the members of several convents of the same order into one.

From the publication of the present decree, no one shall be admitted to the novitiate or permitted to take the monastic vow until the number of the religious of both sexes has been reduced to one third of that now in existence. . . .

All regular ecclesiastics who desire to renounce the monastic life and live as secular ecclesiastics are at liberty to leave their monasteries. . . .

443. Decree abolishing the interior customs lines.

In view of the fact that the institution which stands most in the way of the internal prosperity of Spain is that of the customs lines separating the provinces, we have decreed and do decree what follows:

To date from January 1 next, the barriers existing between the provinces shall be suppressed. The custom houses shall be removed to the frontiers and there established.

In May, 1809, Napoleon proclaimed that the papal possessions and the city of Rome were "reunited" to the French empire. He attempts in the following decree to justify his conduct upon historical grounds.

444. Opening of the decree "reuniting" the papal states to the French empire (May 17, 1809).

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, etc., in consideration of the fact that when Charlemagne, emperor of the French and our august predecessor, granted several counties to the bishops of Rome he ceded these only as fiefs and for the good of his realm, and Rome did not, by reason of this cession, cease to form a part of his empire; further, that since this association of spiritual and temporal authority has been, and still is, a source of dissensions, and has but too often led the pontiffs to employ the influence of the former to maintain the pretensions of the latter, and thus the spiritual concerns and heavenly interests, which are unchanging, have been confused with terrestrial affairs, which by their nature alter according to circumstances and the policy of the time; and since all our proposals for reconciling the security of our armies, the tranquillity and the welfare of our people, and the dignity and integrity of our empire, with the temporal pretensions of the popes have failed, we have decreed and do decree what follows:

ARTICLE 1. The papal states are reunited to the French empire.

2. The city of Rome, so famous by reason of the great memories which cluster about it and as the first seat of Christianity, is proclaimed a free imperial city. . . .

In August, 1810, when Napoleon was arranging to annex Holland and the Hanseatic towns to France, he addressed the Dutch representatives, who had been induced to lay their troubles before him, in the following words:

445. Napoleon's view of his destiny.

. . . When Providence elevated me to the first throne in the world it became my duty, while establishing forever the destinies of France, to determine the fate of all those people who formed a part of the empire, to insure for all the benefits of stability and order, and to put an end everywhere to the woes of anarchy. I have done away with the uncertainty in Italy by placing upon my head the crown of iron. I have suppressed the government which was ruling in Piedmont. I have traced out the constitution of Switzerland in my Act of Mediation, and I have harmonized the local conditions of these countries and their historical traditions with the security and rights of the imperial crown.

I gave you a prince of my own blood to govern you. It was a natural bond, which should have served to unite the interests of your administration and the rights of the empire. My hopes have been disappointed. Under these circumstances I have displayed a degree of moderation and long-suffering which comported but ill with my character and my rights. Finally, I have but just put an end to the painful uncertainty in which you found yourselves and to the death struggle which had ended by destroying your strength and resources. I have opened the continent to your industry, and the day will come when you shall bear my eagles upon the seas which your ancestors have rendered illustrious. You will then show yourselves worthy of them and of me. . . .

VI. The Russian Campaign

446. Napoleon's proclamation at the opening of the Russian campaign (June, 1812).

Before crossing the Russian boundary in June, 1812, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to the Grand Army.

Soldiers, the second war of Poland has commenced. The first was brought to a close at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit, Russia swore eternal alliance with France and war with England. She now violates her oaths, she refuses to give any explanation of her strange conduct, except on condition

that the eagles of France shall repass the Rhine, leaving, by such a movement, our allies at her mercy. Russia is dragged along by a fate. Her destinies must be accomplished. Shall she then consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonor or war. The choice does not admit of hesitation. Let us march forward. Let us pass the Niemen. Let us carry war into her territory. The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as was the first; but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guaranty and will put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe.

AT OUR HEADQUARTERS AT WILKOWISZKI,
June, 22, 1812.

Five months later Napoleon was frantically endeavoring to regain Poland. An eyewitness thus describes the crossing of the Beresina, one of the most tragic episodes in all military history.

447. The crossing of the Beresina. (From Constant's *Memoirs.*)

On the 25th of November there had been thrown across the river temporary bridges made of beams taken from the cabins of the Poles. . . . At a little after five in the afternoon the beams gave way, not being sufficiently strong; and as it was necessary to wait until the next day, the army again abandoned itself to gloomy forebodings. It was evident that they would have to endure the fire of the enemy all the next day. But there was no longer any choice; for it was only at the end of this night of agony and suffering of every description that the first beams were secured in the river. It is hard to comprehend how men could submit to stand, up to their mouths in water filled with ice, rallying all the strength which nature had given them, added to all that the energy of devotion furnished, and drive piles several feet deep into a miry bed, struggling against the most horrible fatigue, pushing back with their hands enormous blocks of ice which threatened to submerge and sink them. . . .

Napoleon overcome with grief and despair.

The emperor awaited daylight in a poor hut, and in the morning said to Prince Berthier, "Well, Berthier, how can we get out of this?" He was seated in his room, great tears flowing down his cheeks, which were paler than usual; and the prince was seated near him. They exchanged few words, and the emperor appeared overcome by his grief. I leave to the imagination what was passing in his soul. . . .

When the artillery and baggage wagons passed, the bridge was so overweighted that it fell in. Instantly a backward movement took place, which crowded together all the multitude of stragglers who were advancing in the rear of the artillery, like a flock being herded. Another bridge had been constructed, as if the sad thought had occurred that the first might give way, but the second was narrow and without a railing; nevertheless it seemed at first a very valuable makeshift in such a calamity. But how disasters follow one upon another! The stragglers rushed to the second bridge in crowds. But the artillery, the baggage wagons, — in a word, all the army supplies, — had been in front on the first bridge when it broke down. . . . Now, since it was urgent that the artillery should pass first, it rushed impetuously toward the only road to safety which remained. No pen can describe the scene of horror which ensued; for it was literally over a road of trampled human bodies that conveyances of all sorts reached the bridge. On this occasion one could see how much brutality and cold-blooded ferocity can be produced in human minds by the instinct of self-preservation. . . . As I have said, the bridge had no railing; and crowds of those who forced their way across fell into the river and were engulfed beneath the ice. Others, in their fall, tried to stop themselves by grasping the planks of the bridge, and remained suspended over the abyss until, their hands crushed by the wheels of the vehicles, they lost their grasp and went to join their comrades as the waves closed over them Entire caissons with drivers and horses were precipitated into the water. . . .

Officers harnessed themselves to sleds to carry some of their companions who were rendered helpless by their

wounds. They wrapped these unfortunates as warmly as possible, cheered them from time to time with a glass of brandy when they could procure it, and lavished upon them the most touching attention. There were many who behaved in this unselfish manner, of whose names we are ignorant; and how few returned to enjoy in their own country the remembrance of the most heroic deeds of their lives!

On the 29th the emperor quitted the banks of the Beresina and we slept at Kamen, where his Majesty occupied a poor wooden building which the icy air penetrated from all sides through the windows, for nearly all the glass was broken. We closed the openings as well as we could with bundles of hay. A short distance from us, in a large lot, were penned up the wretched Russian prisoners whom the army drove before it. I had much difficulty in comprehending the delusion of victory which our poor soldiers still kept up by dragging after them this wretched luxury of prisoners, who could only be an added burden, as they required constant surveillance. When the conquerors are dying of famine, what becomes of the conquered? These poor Russians, exhausted by marches and hunger, nearly all perished that night. . . .

On the 3d of December we arrived at Malodeczno. During the whole day the emperor appeared thoughtful and anxious. He had frequent confidential conversations with the grand equerry, Monsieur de Coulaincourt, and I expected some extraordinary measure. I was not mistaken in my conjectures. At two leagues from Smorghoni the duke of Vicenza summoned me and told me to go on in front and give orders to have the six best horses harnessed to my carriage, which was the lightest of all, and keep them in constant readiness. I reached Smorghoni before the emperor, who did not arrive until the following night. . . . After supper the emperor ordered prince Eugene to read the twenty-ninth bulletin and spoke freely of his plans, saying that his departure was essential in order to send help to the army. . . .

The emperor left in the night. By daybreak the army had learned the news, and the impression it made cannot be

depicted. Discouragement was at its height, and many soldiers cursed the emperor and reproached him for abandoning them.

This night, the 6th, the cold increased greatly. Its severity may be imagined, as birds were found on the ground frozen stiff. Soldiers seated themselves with their heads in their hands and bodies bent forward in order thus to feel less the emptiness of their stomachs. . . . Everything had failed us. Long before reaching Wilna, the horses being dead, we received orders to burn our carriages and all their contents.

VII. The German War of Liberation

The German people, divided as they were into a multitude of little states, had borne apathetically Napoleon's dominion for some years. But his insolent conduct after the victory of Jena began to arouse the national feeling which was later to drive him from German soil and lay the foundation of a united fatherland. The judicious Chancellor Pasquier, in his *Memoirs*, thus describes Napoleon's unwarranted treatment of the Prussians.

448. Napoleon's conduct after Jena. (From Pasquier's *Memoirs*.)

Prussia, which for about half a century had advanced step by step to the first rank among military powers, was laid low at the first clash of arms. Such of the old generals of Frederick the Great as still survived — the duke of Brunswick, General Möllendorf, and many others — either lost their lives on the battlefield of Jena or, as a result of the rout, the remnants of their former military reputation. Seventeen days sufficed to place the French army in possession of the Prussian capital, and the end of November saw it on the opposite side of the Vistula, after taking Cüstrin, Spandau, Lübeck, and Magdeburg, — the last named reputed to be the most strongly fortified town in the Prussian kingdom, — and occupying all the states belonging to Prussia, with the exception of Silesia and the fortress of Colberg in Pomerania. . . .

France was no doubt proud of all these victories, and she wished to reap the fruits of them, the first of which, in her eyes, was peace, — a glorious, but also a lasting one. Moderation in the hour of triumph could alone insure such a result, and the French character, which is naturally generous, indulged in thoughts of a magnanimous use of victory. So it was that people nourished the illusory idea that the man who had risen so high could not be deficient in the only quality which could make his conquests secure. . . .

But no sooner was Napoleon in Berlin than he not only acted and spoke as an angry conqueror, but affected the speech and the attitude of a sovereign giving commands to his subjects. Loyalty to the prince who had fled at his approach was treated as an act of rebellion, and, in his indignation against the opposition of a portion of the nobility which still held communication with the unfortunate king, he exclaimed, in the very halls of the palace of the great Frederick, "I will so humble this court nobility that it shall be reduced to begging its bread." In his proclamations and bulletins he constantly coupled threats with insults. Misfortune, which should be sacred, was not even respected in the person of the queen of Prussia. This conduct was far from affording any reassuring preliminaries for the peace so ardently desired.

The disaster of Jena and the humiliation of Tilsit forced Prussia to try to regain strength and prosperity through the radical reform of her whole social organization. The first step was taken in October, 1807, when serfdom and certain ancient restrictions on landholding were abolished. A few paragraphs of this cautious measure are given below. They are in singular contrast to the generous and thoroughgoing, not to say reckless, provisions of the decree abolishing the feudal system in France given above.[1]

[1] See above, pp. 404 *sqq.*

449. The Prussian reform edict of October 9, 1807.

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God king of Prussia, etc., etc., hereby make known and proclaim that: Since peace has been established we have been occupied before everything else with the care for the depressed condition of our faithful subjects and the speediest revival and greatest possible improvement in this respect. We have considered that, in face of the prevailing want, the means at our disposal would be insufficient to aid each individual, and even if they were sufficient, we could not hope to accomplish our object; and that, moreover, in accordance with the imperative demands of justice and with the principles of a judicious economic policy, it behooves us to remove every obstacle which has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a state of prosperity as he was capable of reaching. We have further considered that the existing restrictions, both on the possession and enjoyment of landed property and on the personal condition of the agricultural laborer, especially interfere with our benevolent purpose and disable a great force which might be applied to the restoration of agriculture, — the former, by their prejudicial influence upon the value of landed property and the credit of the proprietor; the latter, by diminishing the value of labor. We desire, therefore, to reduce both kinds of restrictions so far as the common well-being demands, and we accordingly ordain the following.

1. Every inhabitant of our states is competent, without any limitation on the part of the state, to own or mortgage landed property of every kind. The noble may therefore own not only noble, but also non-noble, citizen and peasant lands of every kind, and the citizen and peasant may possess not only citizen, peasant, and other non-noble, but also noble tracts of land without in any case needing special permission for any acquisition whatever, although henceforth, as before, every change of ownership must be announced to the authorities. All privileges which are possessed by noble over citizen inheritances are entirely abolished. . . .

2. Every noble is henceforth permitted, without any derogation from his station, to engage in citizen occupation, and

every citizen or peasant is allowed to pass from the citizen into the peasant class or from the peasant into the citizen class.[1] . . .

. . . . . .

10. From the date of this ordinance no new relation of serfdom, whether by birth or marriage, or by assuming the position of a serf, or by contract, can be created.

11. With the publication of the present ordinance the existing relations of serfdom of those serfs, with their wives and children, who possess their peasant holdings by inheritance, or in their own right, or by perpetual leases, or of copyhold, shall cease entirely, together with all mutual rights and duties.

12. From Martinmas, one thousand eight hundred and ten (1810), all serfdom shall cease throughout our whole realm. From Martinmas, 1810, there shall be only free persons, as is already the case upon the royal domains in all our provinces, — free persons, however, still subject, as a matter of course, to all obligations which bind them, as free persons, by reason of the possession of an estate or by virtue of a special contract.[2]

To this declaration of our supreme will every one whom it may concern, and in particular our provincial authorities and other officials, are exactly and dutifully to conform, and the present ordinance is to be universally made known.

Given authentically, under our own royal signature, at Memel, October 9, 1807.

FREDERICK WILLIAM,
Schrötter, Stein, Schrötter II.

[1] The articles here omitted relate to leases, mortgages, etc., and are technical and obscure.

[2] These general provisions abolishing serfdom were so vague as to be misunderstood. The king therefore issued an official explanation later (April 8, 1809; *Gesetz-Sammlung, 1806–1810*, pp. 557 *sqq.*), which serves to enlighten us upon the exact nature of the *personal* dependence of the serf. This consisted, for example, in the right of the lord to demand three years' service from children of his serfs, and to control them in later life in the matter of occupation and marriage. The former serf is permitted by the new law to engage in any industry he may choose and to leave the manor if he wishes without demanding the consent of the lord.

By the middle of March, 1813, the timid king of Prussia, encouraged by Napoleon's defeat in Russia, finally decided to throw off the French yoke and lead his country into a war of liberation. He explained his reasons to his people in one of the most famous documents ("*An mein Volk*") in modern German history.

450. The king of Prussia rouses his people against Napoleon.

There is no need of explaining to my loyal subjects, or to any German, the reasons for the war which is about to begin. They lie plainly before the eyes of awakened Europe. We succumbed to the superior force of France. The peace which followed deprived me of my people and, far from bringing us blessings, it inflicted upon us deeper wounds than the war itself, sucking out the very marrow of the country. Our principal fortresses remained in the hand of the enemy, and agriculture, as well as the highly developed industries of our towns, was crippled. The freedom of trade was hampered and thereby the sources of commerce and prosperity cut off. The country was left a prey to the ravages of destitution.

I hoped, by the punctilious fulfillment of the engagements I had entered into, to lighten the burdens of my people, and even to convince the French emperor that it would be to his own advantage to leave Prussia her independence. But the purest and best of intentions on my part were of no avail against insolence and faithlessness, and it became only too plain that the emperor's treaties would gradually ruin us even more surely than his wars. The moment is come when we can no longer harbor the slightest illusion as to our situation.

Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, Lithuanians! You know what you have borne for the past seven years; you know the sad fate that awaits you if we do not bring this war to an honorable end. Think of the times gone by, — of the Great Elector, the great Frederick! Remember the blessings for which your forefathers fought under their leadership and which they paid for with their blood, — freedom

of conscience, national honor, independence, commerce, industry, learning. Look at the great example of our powerful allies, the Russians; look at the Spaniards, the Portuguese. For such objects as these even weaker peoples have gone forth against mightier enemies and returned in triumph. Witness the heroic Swiss and the people of the Netherlands.

Great sacrifices will be demanded from every class of the people, for our undertaking is a great one, and the number and resources of our enemies far from insignificant. But would you not rather make these sacrifices for the fatherland and for your own rightful king than for a foreign ruler, who, as he has shown by many examples, will use you and your sons and your uttermost farthing for ends which are nothing to you?

Faith in God, perseverance, and the powerful aid of our allies will bring us victory as the reward of our honest efforts. Whatever sacrifices may be required of us as individuals, they will be outweighed by the sacred rights for which we make them, and for which we must fight to a victorious end unless we are willing to cease to be Prussians or Germans. This is the final, the decisive struggle; upon it depends our independence, our prosperity, our existence. There are no other alternatives but an honorable peace or a heroic end. You would willingly face even the latter for honor's sake, for without honor no Prussian or German could live.

However, we may confidently await the outcome. God and our own firm purpose will bring victory to our cause and with it an assured and glorious peace and the return of happier times.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

BRESLAU, March 17, 1813.

Immediately after the great battle of the nations at Leipzig the distinguished Prussian statesman, Stein, writes as follows to his wife:

LEIPZIG, October 21, 1813.

At last, my dear one, we may venture to indulge in a feeling of happiness. Napoleon is beaten and put to flight

451. Stein reports the battle of Leipzig to his wife.

in disorder. They are driving him over to the left bank of the Rhine and the Austro-Bavarian army will catch up with him before he crosses the river. This is the result of the bloody but glorious battle of the 14th, 16th, 18th, and 19th of October..

And so that monstrous structure built up by the maddest and most perverse tyranny and cemented by the blood and tears of so many millions now lies in ruins. From one end of Germany to the other men now dare to say that Napoleon is a scoundrel and an enemy of the human race; that the shameful bonds in which he has held our fatherland are broken, and the humiliation he has heaped upon us is washed out in streams of French blood.

This great event is due to the persistence and noble spirit developed by Emperor Alexander in the important and decisive events of last year, the heroic devotion of his people, and the spirit of justice and moderation which he has shown in all his negotiations with the powers whom he has invited to associate their efforts with his; to the sacrifices and strength which Prussia has brought to the struggle since she entered it; to the spirit of opposition and hate toward the oppressor which has shown itself on all sides.

The workings of Providence are at least justified by the terrible judgment which has been meted out to the monster whose obstinacy has led him into political and military follies which have hastened his fall and made him an object of contempt among the people. . . .

These results have been won by two bloody, glorious, and tragic campaigns, and through many costly battles. At Lützen, Bautzen, Teltow, Dresden, Katzbach, Kulm, Dennewitz, Bledin, Leipzig, the seed was sown for this harvest which now awaits us, the fruits of which we should enjoy with a devout and thankful recognition of the hand of Providence, and in all moderation.

The allies have vested in me the whole administration of the territory which they have occupied. Repnin has been made governor of Saxony. I leave in a fortnight, as soon as the army has reached Frankfort.

VIII. The Downfall of Napoleon

Six months after the battle of Leipzig Napoleon finally renounced, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy (April 11, 1814), and on the same day concluded the Treaty of Fontainebleau with his enemies.

452. Treaty of Fontainebleau, in which Napoleon abdicates (April 11, 1814).

His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, on the one part, and, on the other, their Majesties the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the emperor of all the Russias, both in their own names and those of their allies. . . .

1. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors, and descendants, as well as for all the members of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion as well in the French empire as in the kingdom of Italy and in every other country.

2. Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lifetime. The mother, brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the emperor shall retain, wherever they may be, the titles of princes of his family.

3. The island of Elba, adopted by his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon as the place of his residence, shall form during his life a separate principality, which shall be possessed by him in full sovereignty and proprietorship.

There shall be given to the Emperor Napoleon, besides full proprietorship of the island of Elba, an annual revenue of two million francs. . . .

5. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla shall be given in full proprietorship and sovereignty to her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa. They shall pass to her son and to his descendants in the direct line. The prince, her son, shall assume from this moment the title of Prince of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. . . .

Eleven months later Napoleon returned from Elba, but was met by the following declaration of the allies, who were in conference at Vienna.

453. Declaration of the allies after Napoleon's return from Elba (March 13, 1815).

The powers who signed the Treaty of Paris, reassembled in the congress at Vienna, having been informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe to their dignity and the interest of social order the solemn declaration of the sentiments which that event has inspired in them.

In thus violating the convention which established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to his existence. By reappearing in France with projects of disorder and destruction, he has cut himself off from the protection of the law, and has shown in the face of all the world that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

Accordingly, the powers declare that Napoleon Bonaparte is excluded from civil and social relations, and as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world he has incurred public vengeance.

At the same time, being firmly resolved to preserve intact the Treaty of Paris of May 30, 1814, and the arrangements sanctioned by that treaty, as well as those which have been or shall be arranged hereafter in order to complete and consolidate it, they declare that they will employ all their resources and unite all their efforts in order that the general peace, the object of the desires of Europe and the constant aim of their labors, may not be again disturbed, and in order to secure themselves from all attempts which may threaten to plunge the world once more into the disorders and misfortunes of revolutions.

And although fully persuaded that all France, rallying around its legitimate sovereign, will strive unceasingly to bring to naught this last attempt of a criminal and impotent madman, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same feeling and guided by the same principles, declare that if, contrary to all expectation, there shall result from that event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France and the French nation, or to any government which shall be attacked, as soon as shall be required, all the assistance necessary to reëstablish the

public tranquillity, and to make common cause against all who may attempt to compromise it.

The present declaration, inserted in the protocol of the congress assembled at Vienna, March 13, 1815, shall be made public.

The allies completely carried out the programme announced in the declaration above. In less than two months after the battle of Waterloo, the ship bearing Napoleon to St. Helena was well on its way. One of the few companions who were permitted to accompany him, the Comte de Las Cases, kept an interesting journal of his experiences, especially of his conversations with Napoleon (see above, p. 468). He makes the following entries in his diary.

454. Napoleon's exile to St. Helena. (From Las Cases' diary.)

August 10. This day we cleared the Channel. We had now entered upon the dreary unknown course to which fate had doomed us. Again my agonies were renewed; again the dear connections I had abandoned resumed their sway over my heart. . . . Meanwhile we advanced in our course and were soon to be out of Europe. Thus, in less than six weeks, had the emperor abdicated his throne and placed himself in the hands of the English, who were now hurrying him to a barren rock in the midst of a vast ocean. This is certainly no ordinary instance of the chances of fortune, and no common trial of firmness of mind. . . .

As to the reproach of suffering himself to be transported to St. Helena, it would be a disgrace to answer such a charge. To contend with an adversary in the cabin of a ship, to kill some one with his own hand, or attempt to set fire to the powder magazine would have been at best the act of a buccaneer. Dignity in misfortune, submission to necessity have also their glory, and it is that which becomes great men overwhelmed by adversity. . . .

August 11–14. Our course was shaped to cross the Bay of Biscay and to double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair though light, and the heat excessive. Nothing could be

more monotonous than the time we now passed. . . . It is well known that Napoleon was wont to be scarcely more than fifteen minutes at his dinner. Here the two courses alone occupied from an hour to an hour and a half. This was to him a most serious annoyance, though he never mentioned it; his features, gestures, and manner always evinced perfect indifference. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference, or the quality of the dishes ever met with his censure or approbation. . . .

I need scarcely observe that the English are accustomed to remain a long time at table after the dessert, drinking and conversing. The emperor, already wearied by the tedious dinner, could never have endured this custom; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately after coffee had been handed around, and went out on deck, followed by the grand marshal and myself. This disconcerted the admiral, who took occasion to express his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, warmly replied, "Do not forget, Admiral, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world, and that kings once contended for the honor of being admitted to his table." "Very true," rejoined the admiral; and this officer, who possessed good sense, a becoming pliability of manners, and sometimes much elegance, did his utmost from that moment to accommodate the emperor in his habits. He shortened the time of sitting at the table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. . . .

October 23–24. The Emperor Napoleon, who but lately possessed such boundless power and disposed of so many crowns, now occupies a wretched hovel, a few feet square, which is perched upon a rock, unprovided with furniture, and without either shutters or curtains to the windows. This place must serve him for bedchamber, dressing room, dining room, study, and sitting room; and he is obliged to go out when it is necessary to have this one apartment cleaned. His meals, consisting of a few wretched dishes,

are brought to him from a distance, as though he were a criminal in a dungeon. He is absolutely in want of the necessaries of life: the bread and wine are not only not such as he has been accustomed to, but are so bad that we loathe to touch them; water, coffee, butter, oil, and other articles are either not to be procured or are scarcely fit for use. . . .

Assuredly if the sovereigns of Europe decreed this exile, private enmity has directed its execution. If policy alone dictated this measure as indispensable, would it not have been essential, in order to render the fact evident to the world, to have surrounded with every kind of respect and consideration the illustrious victim with regard to whom it has been necessary to violate law and principle?

We were all assembled around the emperor, and he was recapitulating these facts with warmth: "For what infamous treatment are we reserved!" he exclaimed. "This is the anguish of death. To injustice and violence they now add insult and protracted torment. If I were so hateful to them, why did they not get rid of me? A few musket balls in my heart or my head would have done the business, and there would at least have been some energy in the crime. Were it not for you, and above all for your wives, I would receive nothing from them but the pay of a private soldier. How can the monarchs of Europe permit the sacred character of sovereignty to be violated in my person? Do they not see that they are, with their own hands, working their own destruction at St. Helena? I entered their capitals victorious and, had I cherished such sentiments, what would have become of them? They styled me their brother, and I had become so by the choice of the people, the sanction of victory, the character of religion, and the alliances of their policy and their blood. Do they imagine that the good sense of nations is blind to their conduct? And what do they expect from it? At all events, make your complaints, gentlemen; let indignant Europe hear them. Complaints from me would be beneath my dignity and character; I must either command or be silent."

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CHAPTER XXXIX

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

I. The Congress of Vienna

When the long and bloody struggle of the European powers against Napoleon was finally brought to a successful issue in the spring of 1814, France, who was looked upon as the chief promoter of discord during the previous twenty years, was naturally viewed as the black sheep by the allies. But Louis XVIII was represented at the Congress of Vienna by a well-tried diplomat, Talleyrand, who skillfully took advantage of the divergent interests of the allies and soon restored France to her natural position of importance in the concert of the powers. Nevertheless, when Talleyrand left Paris for Vienna the outlook was gloomy enough. He said to Pasquier on the eve of his departure:

France at first viewed as a black sheep at the Congress of Vienna.

455. Talleyrand's discouragement upon starting for the Congress of Vienna. (From Pasquier's *Memoirs.*)

I am probably going to play a very sorry part. In the first place, what kind of a welcome shall I receive? Shall I ever get a hearing? Following upon the convention of the 30th of May, the allied sovereigns made the king of France bind himself not to interfere in the partition they should see fit to make of the territories wrested from Bonaparte. If it is their intention that that engagement shall be strictly adhered to, I shall be present there only as what is altogether wrongly styled *ad honores*. I may occasionally open my lips for form's sake, but no heed will be paid to the words issuing from them. On the other hand, I shall be blamed at home for everything that does not turn out

as one would have wished. I do not enjoy the confidence of these people; for the past five months they have taken no pains to conceal this fact from me. Under such circumstances the best thing for a man to do, were it only possible, would be to stay at home.

But Talleyrand had underrated his wonderful diplomatic skill, and had failed to reckon with the assistance which he would receive from the conflicting interests and dissensions among the allies. Early in January he was able to write the following complacent letter to Louis XVIII.

VIENNA, January 4, 1815.

Sire:

456. Talleyrand writes to Louis XVIII describing his successful diplomacy at Vienna.

I have received the letter of the 23d of last month with which your Majesty deigned to honor me. On the 21st of the present month, the anniversary of a day of horror and eternal mourning,[1] a solemn expiatory service will be celebrated in one of the principal churches of Vienna. . . . Everything in this sad ceremony must be proportioned to the grandeur of its object, the splendor of the crown of France, and the quality of those who are to be present. All the members of the Congress will be invited, and I am sure that they will come. . . .

Treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814).

The news of the signature of peace between England and the United States of America was announced to me on New Year's day by a note from Lord Castlereagh. I hastened to offer him my congratulations, and I also congratulated myself on the event, feeling that it may influence both the disposition of the minister and the resolution of those with whose pretensions we have had to contend hitherto. Lord Castlereagh showed me the treaty. It does not touch the honor of either of the two parties concerned and consequently it will satisfy both.

This happy intelligence was only the precursor of a still more fortunate event. The spirit of the coalition, and the

[1] The anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI.

coalition itself, had survived the Peace of Paris. My correspondence up to the present time has supplied your Majesty with repeated proofs of this. If the plans which, on arriving here, I found had been formed, had been carried into execution, France might have stood alone in Europe without being in good relations with any one single power for half a century to come. All my efforts were directed to the prevention of so great a misfortune, but my most ardent hopes did not reach the height of a complete success.

Hostility of the allies toward France.

But now, sire, the coalition is dissolved, and forever. Not only does France no longer stand alone in Europe, but your Majesty is already in an alliance such as it seemed that fifty years of negotiation could not have procured for her. France is now in concert with two of the greatest powers and three states of the second order, and will soon be in concert with all the states which are guided by other than revolutionary principles and maxims. Your Majesty will be, in reality, the head and soul of that union, formed for the defense of the principles which your Majesty has been the first to proclaim.

Talleyrand forms an alliance between France, England, Austria, and lesser powers

So great and happy a change is only to be attributed to that special favor of Providence which was so clearly indicated by the restoration of your Majesty to the throne. Under God, the efficient causes of this change have been:

My letters to Monsieur de Metternich and Lord Castlereagh and the impressions which they have produced;

The suggestions which I gave Lord Castlereagh relative to a union with France and of which I gave your Majesty an account in my last letter;

The pains I have taken to lull his distrust by exhibiting perfect disinterestedness in the name of France;

The peace with America, which, by releasing him from difficulty on that side, has left him more liberty of action and given him greater courage;

Lastly, the pretensions of Russia and Prussia, as set forth in the Russian project of which I have the honor to subjoin a copy; and especially the manner in which those

pretensions were advanced and argued in a conference between their plenipotentiaries and those of Austria. The arrogant tone of that insolent and nonsensical document so deeply offended Lord Castlereagh that, departing from his habitual calmness, he declared that the Russians were claiming to lay down the law and that England was not disposed to accept that from anybody.

II. France after the Restoration

Chancellor Pasquier, with his usual insight, gives in his *Memoirs* the following picture of France on the restoration of the Bourbons.

457. Difficult position of Louis XVIII and his government.

Vanquished on the 10th of August, 1792, immolated on the 21st of January, 1793, the Bourbon monarchy had returned after twenty-two years, which had seen a republic, a directorial government, a consulate, and an empire. It came back not in a blaze of glory, since not a single victory had been won in the past twenty years either by it or in its name, but bringing with it the blessings of a necessary peace. Peace abroad, peace at home, was all that was expected of it; but for this dual peace to be lasting it must be an honorable one. No longer could any ambitious day-dreams be indulged in; we could revel no more in the enjoyment of the brilliant victories which had become so dear to the French heart. Care must be taken the while to respect the memory of them, and to be considerate in the treatment of those who had risen to an illustrious and glorious prominence, all the more precious in that it alone had survived the shipwreck. Yet fate and the force of circumstances rendered these memories — cherished by so large a majority of Frenchmen — a painful subject to the king, the royal family, and almost all those who had returned in their wake.

The situation was a delicate one, for hardly any one dared to give frank expression to his natural sentiments. Some there were who, in spite of the caution enjoined by

Strained relations between the returned *Emigrés* and the Napoleonic nobility.

policy, necessarily found their prestige dimmed. Accustomed as they had been for fifteen years to hold first rank both in the army and at court, they now found themselves forced to share their power with men the greater number of whom had hitherto remained unknown to fame, and who suddenly assumed an attitude characterized by a superiority which displayed itself with that ease which usually belongs only to a possession of long date. . . .

It not unfrequently occurred that the most illustrious among generals heard people ask in the salons of the Tuileries who they were. These names, which had so often resounded in the bulletins of the *Grande Armée*, were known in Vienna, in Berlin, and in the many capitals through which their bearers had passed as conquerors. On the other hand, those who in their own country, and in its very capital, involuntarily put this slight upon them, were perpetually exasperated at heart by the consideration and respectful treatment which policy dictated should be shown to men of the empire, and which seemed to the returned royalists excessive. . . .

There was an ever-present and ill-concealed feeling of antagonism between the throng of officers who had won their promotion in the wars of the Revolution and the noblemen of all ages who were in so great a hurry to wear their old epaulets once more or to procure fresh ones.

The constitution which Louis XVIII granted to France upon the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in 1814 is important from two points of view. In the first place, it furnishes an expression of the permanent results of the revolutionary period. Its concessions measure the space which separates the times of Louis XVI from those of his brother, Louis XVIII. In this respect the preamble and the bill of rights are of especial interest. Secondly, no other constitution has ever served France for so long a period. The Charter,

although somewhat modified in 1830 upon the accession of Louis Philippe, was maintained until 1848.

458. Extracts from the French Charter of 1814.

Louis, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, to all those to whom these presents come, salutation:

Divine Providence, in recalling us to our estates after a long absence, has imposed grave responsibilities upon us. Peace was the first necessity of our subjects, and with this we have unceasingly occupied ourselves. That peace so essential to France and to the rest of Europe has been signed.

Reasons which led Louis XVIII to grant a constitution.

A Constitutional Charter was demanded by the existing condition of the kingdom; we promised this and now publish it. We have taken into consideration the fact that, although the whole authority in France resides in the person of the king, our predecessors have not hesitated to modify the exercise of this in accordance with the differences of the times. It was thus that the communes owed their enfranchisement to Louis the Fat, the confirmation and extension of their rights to St. Louis and Philip the Fair, and that the judicial system was established and developed by the laws of Louis XI, Henry II, and Charles IX. It was in this way, finally, that Louis XIV regulated almost every portion of the public administration by various ordinances which have never been surpassed in wisdom.

We, like the kings our predecessors, have had to consider the effects of the ever-increasing progress of knowledge, the new relations which this progress has introduced into society, the direction given to the public mind during half a century, and the serious troubles resulting therefrom. We have perceived that the wish of our subjects for a Constitutional Charter was the expression of a real need; but in yielding to this wish we have taken every precaution that this charter should be worthy of us and of the people whom we are proud to rule. Able men taken from the highest official bodies of the state were added to the commissioners of our council to elaborate this important work. While we recognize that the expectations of enlightened Europe ought to be gratified by a free monarchical constitution,

we have had to remember that our first duty toward our people was to preserve, for their own interest, the rights and prerogatives of our crown.

We hope that, taught by experience, they may be convinced that the supreme authority alone can give to institutions which it establishes the power, permanence, and dignity with which it is itself clothed; that, consequently, when the wisdom of kings freely harmonizes with the wish of the people, a Constitutional Charter may long endure, but that when concessions are snatched with violence from a weak government, public liberty is not less endangered than the throne itself.

We have sought the principles of the Constitutional Charter in the French character and in the venerable monuments of past centuries. Thus we perceived in the revival of the peerage a truly national institution which binds memories to hope by uniting ancient and modern times. We have replaced by the Chamber of Deputies those ancient assemblies of the March Field and May Field, and those chambers of the third estate which so often exhibited at once proof of their zeal for the interests of the people and fidelity and respect for the authority of kings.

In thus endeavoring to renew the chain of time which fatal excesses had broken, we effaced from our memory, as we would we might blot out from history, all the evils which have afflicted the country during our absence. Happy to find ourselves again in the bosom of our great family, we could only respond to the love of which we receive so many testimonies by uttering words of peace and consolation. The dearest wish of our heart is that all Frenchmen may live like brothers, and that no bitter memory should ever trouble the tranquillity which should follow the solemn decree which we grant them to-day.

Confident in our intentions, strong in our conscience, we engage ourselves before the assembly which listens to us to be faithful to this Constitutional Charter; with the intention of swearing to maintain it with added solemnity before the altars of Him who weighs in the same balance kings and nations.

For these reasons we have voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our royal authority, granted and do grant, concede, and accord, as well for us as for our successors forever, the Constitutional Charter, as follows.

Public Rights of the French[1]

Article 1. All Frenchmen are equal before the law, whatever may be their title or rank.

2. They contribute without distinction to the impositions of the state in proportion to their fortune.

3. They are all equally eligible to civil and military positions.

4. Their personal liberty is likewise guaranteed; no one can be prosecuted or arrested except in the cases and in the manner prescribed by law.

5. All may with equal liberty make profession of their religion and enjoy the same protection for their worship.

6. Nevertheless the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion is the religion of the state.

7. The ministers of the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion, and those of other Christian forms of worship only, shall receive subsidies from the royal treasury.

8. All Frenchmen have the right to publish and cause their opinions to be printed, if they conform to the laws destined to check the abuse of this liberty.

9. All property is inviolable; that known as *national* property forms no exception, since the law recognizes no difference between that and other property.

10. The state may demand the surrender of property in the interest of the public when this is legally certified, but only with previous indemnification.

11. All investigation of opinions expressed or of votes cast previous to the Restoration is prohibited; oblivion of these is imposed upon the courts and upon citizens alike.

[1] To show the permanence of the first achievements of the Revolution this list of rights should be compared with the Declaration of the Rights of Man drawn up in 1789 (see above, pp. 409 *sqq.*).

12. The conscription is abolished; the method of recruiting both for the army and the navy shall be determined by law.

FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KING

13. The person of the king is inviolable and sacred; his ministers are responsible. In the king alone is vested the executive power. Position of the king.

14. The king is the supreme head of the state; he has command of the land and naval forces, declares war, concludes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, appoints all the officials of the public administration, and issues the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state.

15. The legislative power is exercised jointly by the king, the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies of the departments. System of lawmaking.

16. The right of initiating legislation belongs to the king.

17. Proposed laws are submitted, at the option of the king, either to the Chamber of Peers or to the Chamber of Deputies, except laws for raising taxes, which must be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies first.

18. Every law must be discussed and passed freely by a majority of each of the two houses.

19. The chambers have the right to petition the king to submit a law relating to any subject and to indicate what they deem the law should contain.[1] . . .

The unpopularity of Charles X and the disorders in Paris during the July days, 1830, brought about a state of affairs which is described in a declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, August 7.

[1] The succeeding sections on the Chamber of Peers, the Chamber of Deputies, the judiciary, etc., are omitted here. The whole document may be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 3, or Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, pp. 456 *sqq.*

459. The Chamber of Deputies summons Louis Philippe to the throne.

The Chamber of Deputies, in view of the imperative necessity resulting from the events of July 26, 27, 28, and 29, and the following days, and the general situation of France due to the violation of the Constitutional Charter;

The throne declared vacant.

In view also of the fact that, in consequence of this violation and of the heroic resistance of the citizens of Paris, his Majesty Charles X and his Royal Highness Louis Antoine, the dauphin, and all the members of the older branch of the royal house are at this moment leaving French territory, declares that the throne is vacant in fact and right and that it is indispensable to provide therefor.

The Chamber of Deputies declares, secondly, that, in accordance with the wish and in the interest of the French people, the preamble of the Constitutional Charter is suppressed as wounding the national dignity, since it appears to *grant* to Frenchmen the rights which are inherently theirs,[1] and that the following articles of the same character must be suppressed or modified in the manner below indicated.

[Here follows a series of modifications in the charter, intended to preclude the illiberal construction which Charles X had placed upon it.]

Louis Philippe invited, under certain conditions, to become king of France.

On condition of the acceptance of these arrangements and propositions, the Chamber of Deputies declares that the general and pressing interest of the French people summons to the throne his Royal Highness Louis Philippe of Orleans, duke of Orleans, lieutenant general of the kingdom, and his descendants forever, from male to male, in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants. Accordingly his Royal Highness Louis Philippe of Orleans shall be invited to accept and swear to the clauses and engagements above enumerated, and to the observation of the Constitutional Charter including the modifications indicated, and, after having done this in the presence of the assembled chambers, to take the title of King of the French.

[1] See above, pp. 538 *sqq.*

III. Germany and the Reaction after 1814

The German liberals came out of the struggle against Napoleon with high hopes. They desired that the many German states might be bound together into a really firm national union, under a constitutional government. Prussia favored this plan at Vienna, but Austria opposed it for obvious reasons, and the German Act of Confederation, drawn up by the Congress of Vienna, established a very loose union of sovereign princes, who dealt with one another almost like independent rulers. Nevertheless this constitution lasted Germany from 1815 to 1866, and formed a transition from the ancient Holy Roman Empire, which Napoleon had destroyed, to the present German empire.

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity:

460. The German Act of Confederation (June 8, 1815).

The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, animated by the common desire to carry into effect Article VI of the Peace of Paris of May 30, 1814, and convinced of the advantages which would result for the security and independence of Germany and for the repose and equilibrium of Europe from a firm and lasting union, have agreed to unite themselves in a perpetual confederation, and have for this purpose invested their envoys and deputies at the Congress of Vienna with full powers, viz.:

Metternich's grandeur

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty; the Sieur Clement Wenceslas, Prince of Metternich-Winneburg-Ochsenhausen, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of the Order of St. Alexander Newsky and of St. Anne of the First Class; Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honor; Knight of the Order of the Elephant, of the Order of the Annunciation, of the Black Eagle, of the Red Eagle, of the Seraphim, of St. Joseph of Tuscany, of St. Hubert, of the Golden Eagle of Würtemberg, of the

Fidelity of Baden, of St. John of Jerusalem, and of several others; Chancellor of the Military Order of Maria Theresa; Curator of the Imperial and Royal Academy of Fine Arts; Chamberlain and Active Privy Councilor of his Majesty the emperor of Austria and king of Hungary and Bohemia; his Majesty's Minister of State and of Conferences, as well as Minister of Foreign Affairs and first plenipotentiary at the Congress, — and the Sieur John Philip, baron of Wessenberg; Grand Cross of the Royal Sardinian Order of St. Mauritius and St. Lazarus, and of the Royal Order of the Crown of Bavaria, etc.; Chamberlain and Active Privy Councilor of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and his Majesty's second plenipotentiary at the Congress.

His Royal Majesty of Prussia; the Prince Hardenberg, his Chancellor of State.[1] . . .

General Provisions

Article I. The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, including their Majesties the emperor of Austria and the kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands; to wit, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, for all of their possessions formerly belonging to the German empire[2]; the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg, — unite in a perpetual union which shall be called the German Confederation.

II. The aim of the same shall be the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany and of the independence and inviolability of the individual German states.

III. All members of the union have, as such, equal rights. They all engage alike to maintain inviolate the Act of Confederation.

[1] It has not been deemed necessary to give the names of all the plenipotentiaries. All the states enumerated in Article IV were represented at the Congress.

[2] I.e. the Holy Roman Empire.

Voting in the Diet.

IV. The affairs of the Confederation shall be confided to a Diet of the Confederation, in which all members of the union shall vote through their plenipotentiaries, either individually or collectively, in the following manner, without prejudice to their rank.

	Votes		Votes
1. Austria	1	12. The grand ducal and ducal houses of Saxony	1
2. Prussia	1	13. Brunswick and Nassau	1
3. Bavaria	1	14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1
4. Saxony	1	15. Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Schwarzburg	1
5. Hanover	1	16. Hohenzollern, Liechtenstein, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe, and Waldeck	1
6. Würtemberg	1	17. The free towns, Lübeck, Frankfort, Bremen, and Hamburg	1
7. Baden	1		
8. Electoral Hesse	1		
9. Grand duchy of Hesse	1		
10. Denmark, for Holstein	1		
11. The Netherlands, for the grand duchy of Luxemburg	1		
Total votes			17

V. Austria shall preside in the Diet of the Confederation. Each member of the union has the right to make and support propositions, and the presiding state is bound within a determined period to bring them under deliberation.

System of voting on special occasions.

VI. Whenever fundamental laws of the Confederation are to be enacted or amended, or measures are to be adopted relative to the Act of Confederation itself or organic institutions of the Confederation, or other arrangements of common interest are under consideration, the Diet shall form itself into a general assembly (*Plenum*), in which the distribution of the votes, based upon the respective extent of the individual states of the union, has been arranged as follows.[1]

	Votes		Votes
1. Austria	4	8. Electoral Hesse	3
2. Prussia	4	9. Grand duchy of Hesse	3
3. Saxony	4	10. Holstein	3
4. Bavaria	4	11. Luxemburg	3
5. Hanover	4	12. Brunswick	2
6. Würtemberg	4	13. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	2
7. Baden	3	14. Nassau	2

[1] The system of voting which now prevails in the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*) of the German empire is based on this plan of 1815.

	Votes		Votes
15. Saxe-Weimar	1	27. Hohenzollern-Hechingen	1
16 Saxe-Gotha	1	28. Liechtenstein	1
17. Saxe-Coburg	1	29. Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	1
18. Saxe-Meiningen	1	30. Waldeck	1
19. Saxe-Hildburghausen	1	31. Reuss, Elder Branch	1
20. Mecklenburg-Strelitz	1	32. Reuss, Younger Branch	1
21. Holstein-Oldenburg	1	33. Schaumberg-Lippe	1
22. Anhalt-Dessau	1	34. Lippe	1
23. Anhalt-Bernburg	1	35. The free town Lübeck	1
24. Anhalt-Cöthen	1	36. The free town Frankfort	1
25. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen	1	37. The free town Bremen	1
26. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt	1	38. The free town Hamburg	1
		Total votes	69

The Diet of the Confederation, in deliberating on the organic laws of the union, shall take into consideration whether the mediatized estates of the former empire shall be granted any collective votes in the *Plenum*. . . .

Reference to the great readjustment of 1803.

VIII. When the organic laws shall have been drawn up, the Diet of the Confederation shall take into consideration the future permanent order of voting to be adopted. In so doing they shall deviate as little as possible from the regulations of the former Diet, especially as based upon the provisions of the Decree of the Imperial Commission of 1803.

IX. The Diet of the Confederation shall sit at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The first meeting is fixed for the 1st of September, 1815.

XI. All members of the Confederation pledge themselves to protect Germany as a whole, as well as every single confederated state, against attack, and mutually guarantee their entire possessions, so far as those are included within the Confederation.

When war is once declared on the part of the Confederation no member shall negotiate separately with the enemy, or conclude an armistice or make peace.

Members reserve the right to form alliances.

XII. The members of the Confederation reserve to themselves the right of forming alliances of all kinds. They pledge themselves, however, to contract no engagement which shall be directed against the safety of the Confederation or that of any individual state within the union.

The members of the Confederation pledge themselves likewise not to make war among themselves upon any pretense, or to follow up their contentions with force, but to submit these to the Diet. It shall devolve upon this body to attempt arbitration by means of a commission. Should this fail and a judicial decision become necessary, the same shall be effected through a well-organized court of arbitration, to the decision of which the conflicting parties shall forthwith submit.[1]

The extreme phase in the spirit of reaction was reached in Germany when the laws given below were enacted by the Diet. Using the murder of Kotzebue as an excuse, Metternich called a conference of the larger states of the Confederation at Carlsbad (Bohemia) in August, 1819. Here a series of resolutions were drawn up, with the aim of checking the free expression of opinions hostile to existing institutions and of discovering and bringing to justice conspirators, who were supposed to exist in dangerous numbers. These Carlsbad Resolutions were laid before the Diet, which, under Austria's influence, reluctantly ratified them.

461. Chief provisions of the Carlsbad Resolutions as ratified by the Diet (September 20 1819).

1. A special representative of the ruler of each state shall be appointed for each university, with appropriate instructions and extended powers, and shall reside in the place where the university is situated. This office may devolve upon the existing curator or upon any other individual whom the government may deem qualified.

The function of this agent shall be to see to the strictest enforcement of existing laws and disciplinary regulations; to observe carefully the spirit which is shown by the instructors in the university in their public lectures and

[1] The "special provisions" which follow are omitted. The most important of these, and one which later caused much discussion, was Article XIII, which read: "A constitution based upon the system of estates shall take place (*statt finden*) in all the states of the union."

Law providing for a supervision of the university professors and students.

regular courses, and, without directly interfering in scientific matters or in the methods of teaching, to give a salutary direction to the instruction, having in view the future attitude of the students. Lastly, he shall devote unceasing attention to everything that may promote morality, good order, and outward propriety among the students. . . .

2. The confederated governments mutually pledge themselves to remove from the universities or other public educational institutions all teachers who, by obvious deviation from their duty, or by exceeding the limits of their functions, or by the abuse of their legitimate influence over the youthful minds, or by propagating harmful doctrines hostile to public order or subversive of existing governmental institutions, shall have unmistakably proved their unfitness for the important office intrusted to them. . . .

No teacher who shall have been removed in this manner shall be again appointed to a position in any public institution of learning in another state of the union.

Students' societies.

3. Those laws which have for a long period been directed against secret and unauthorized societies in the universities shall be strictly enforced. These laws apply especially to that association established some years since under the name Universal Students' Union (*Allgemeine Burschenschaft*), since the very conception of the society implies the utterly unallowable plan of permanent fellowship and constant communication between the various universities. The duty of especial watchfulness in this matter should be impressed upon the special agents of the government.

The governments mutually agree that such persons as shall hereafter be shown to have remained in secret or unauthorized associations, or shall have entered such associations, shall not be admitted to any public office.

4. No student who shall be expelled from a university by a decision of the university senate which was ratified or prompted by the agent of the government, or who shall have left the institution in order to escape expulsion, shall be received in any other university. . . .

Press law.

1. So long as this decree shall remain in force no publication which appears in the form of daiiy issues, or as a serial not exceeding twenty sheets of printed matter, shall go to press in any state of the union without the previous knowledge and approval of the state officials.

Writings which do not belong to one of the above-mentioned classes shall be treated according to the laws now in force, or which may be enacted, in the individual states of the union. . . .

4. Each state of the union is responsible, not only to the state against which the offense is directly committed, but to the whole Confederation, for every publication appearing under its supervision in which the honor or security of other states is infringed or their constitution or administration attacked. . . .

6. The Diet shall have the right, moreover, to suppress on its own authority, without being petitioned, such writings included in Article 1, in whatever German state they may appear, as, in the opinion of a commission appointed by it, are inimical to the honor of the union, the safety of individual states, or the maintenance of peace and quiet in Germany. There shall be no appeal from such decisions, and the governments involved are bound to see that they are put into execution. . . .

7. When a newspaper or periodical is suppressed by a decision of the Diet, the editor thereof may not within a period of five years edit a similar publication in any state of the union.

Establishment of an investigating committee at Mayence.

1. Within a fortnight, reckoned from the passage of this decree, there shall convene, under the auspices of the Confederation, in the city and federal fortress of Mayence, an extraordinary commission of investigation to consist of seven members, including the chairman.

2. The object of the commission shall be a joint investigation, as thorough and extensive as possible, of the facts relating to the origin and manifold ramifications of the revolutionary plots and demagogical associations directed

against the existing constitution and the internal peace both of the union and of the individual states; of the existence of which plots more or less clear evidence is to be had already, or may be produced in the course of the investigation. . . .

10. The central investigating commission is to furnish the Diet from time to time with a report of the results of the investigation, which is to be carried out as speedily as possible. . . .

In spite of the hampering policy of Metternich and the failure of the constitution of the German Confederation to satisfy the demands of the liberal party, some progress toward the unification of Germany was made through the establishment in 1828 of a customs union in northern Germany, which gradually extended so as finally to include almost all the German states. A German writer humorously describes the superiority of this union to that established by the Congress of Vienna. Matches, fennel, lampreys, cows, cheese, madder, paper, ham, and boots have served to bind together the hearts of the nation as the diplomats at Vienna had not succeeded in doing.

462. Verses on the importance of the Zollverein.

Schwefelhölzer, Fenchel, Bricken,
Kühe, Käse, Krapp, Papier,
Schinken, Scheren, Stiefel, Wicken,
Wolle, Seife, Garn und Bier;
Pfefferkuchen, Lumpen, Trichter,
Nüsse, Tabak, Gläser, Flachs,
Leder, Salz, Schmalz, Puppen, Lichter,
Rettich, Rips, Raps, Schnaps, Lachs, Wachs!

Und ihr andern deutschen Sachen,
Tausend Dank sei euch gebracht!
Was kein Geist je konnte machen,
Ei, das habet ihr gemacht:

Denn ihr habt ein Band gewunden
Um das deutsche Vaterland,
Und die Herzen hat verbunden
Mehr, als unser Bund, dies Band.

IV. Metternich's Fight against Liberalism

After the battle of Waterloo, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England concluded a secret treaty, November 20, 1815, in which they agreed to continue their alliance against any new attempt upon the part of France to disturb the repose of Europe. Metternich, who was the soul of the reactionary policy, was bent upon setting up a permanent barrier to "revolution," — under which terrible term he included all tendencies toward constitutional government. Accordingly Article VI of the treaty reads :

Metternich arranges a system of international congresses to deal with "revolution."

To facilitate and secure the execution of the present treaty and to strengthen the bonds which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meetings at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests and for the consideration of the measures which, at each of these periods, shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the peace of Europe.[1]

The uprising, in 1820, of the people in Spain and Naples against their respective despotic monarchs seemed to Metternich a natural occasion for one of the proposed

[1] The whole of this interesting document is given by Anderson, *Constitutions and Documents*, pp. 482 *sqq*.

congresses, which met at Troppau. Here a system of intervention in the internal affairs of those countries threatening the repose of Europe was agreed upon, and was justified in a circular note which casts much light on the policy of the reactionary monarchs who were under Metternich's influence.

463. Circular note of Troppau setting forth Metternich's theory of intervention.

Having been informed of the false and exaggerated rumors which have been circulated by ill-intentioned and credulous persons in regard to the results of the conferences at Troppau, the allied courts deem it necessary to transmit authentic explanations to their representatives at foreign courts, in order to enable them to refute the erroneous ideas to which these rumors have given rise. The brief report here annexed will enable them to do this. . . .

Troppau, December 8, 1820.

Brief Review of the First Results of the Conferences at Troppau

The events which took place in Spain March 8 and at Naples July 2, as well as the catastrophe in Portugal, could not but arouse a feeling of the deepest indignation, apprehension, and sorrow in those who are called upon to guard the tranquillity of the nations; and, at the same time, it emphasized the necessity of uniting in order to determine in common the means of checking the misfortunes which threaten to envelop Europe. It was but natural that these sentiments should leave a deep impression upon those powers which had but lately stifled revolution and which now beheld it once more raise its head.

Nor was it less natural that these powers, in encountering revolution for the third time, should have recourse to the same methods which they had employed with so much success in the memorable struggle which freed Europe from a yoke she had borne for twenty years. Everything encouraged the hope that that alliance, formed in the most

critical circumstances, crowned with the most brilliant success, and strengthened by the conventions of 1814, 1815, and 1818, as it had prepared the way for, established, and assured the peace of the world, and delivered the European continent from the military representatives of revolution, so it would be able to check a new form of oppression, not less tyrannical and fearful, namely, that of revolt and crime.

Such were the motives and the aim of the meeting at Troppau. The motives are too obvious to need further explanation. The aim is so honorable and justifiable that the best wishes of all right-minded persons will doubtless accompany the allied courts into the noble arena they are about to enter. . . .

Right of the powers to interfere in the internal affairs of states threatened by revolution.

The powers are exercising an incontestable right in taking common measures in respect to those states in which the overthrow of the government through a revolt, even if it be considered simply as a dangerous example, may result in a hostile attitude toward all constitutions and legitimate governments. The exercise of this right becomes an urgent necessity when those who have placed themselves in this situation seek to extend to their neighbors the ills which they have brought upon themselves and to promote revolt and confusion around them. . . .

This is the incontestable fact which the allied courts have made their point of departure. Hence the representatives of the powers . . . agreed at Troppau upon the plan of action to be followed in regard to those states in which the governments had been overturned by violence; and upon the pacific or coercive measures which might bring these states once more into the European alliance, in case the allies should succeed in exercising a salutary influence. . . .

Danger to the Italian states from the revolution at Naples.

Nothing could menace more directly the tranquillity of the neighboring states than the revolution at Naples, gaining ground as it did daily. In view of the fact that the allied courts could not be attacked so promptly and immediately as these neighboring states, it was deemed expedient to proceed, in regard to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, according to the principles above enunciated.

In order to prepare conciliatory measures toward this end, the monarchs convened at Troppau resolved to ask the king of the Two Sicilies to meet them at Laibach, with the single aim of freeing him from all external compulsion and placing him in the position of mediator between his erring people and the states whose tranquillity they threaten. . . .

France and England have been requested to coöperate in these measures, and it is to be anticipated that they will not refuse, since the principle upon which the request is based is completely in accord with the treaties which they have entered into, and affords, moreover, a guarantee of the fairest and most peaceful intentions.

The system pursued in concert by Prussia, Austria, and Russia is in no way new. It is based upon the same principles upon which the conventions rested which created the alliance of the European states. . . .

Moreover it is needless to prove that the resolutions taken by the powers are in no way to be attributed to the idea of conquest, or to any intention of interfering with the independence of other governments in their internal administration, or, lastly, to the purpose of preventing wise improvements freely carried out and in harmony with the true interests of the people. Their only desire is to preserve and maintain peace, to deliver Europe from the scourge of revolution, and to obviate or lessen the ills which arise from the violation of the precepts of order and morality. . . .

While Metternich and his allies were intervening to check reform in southern Europe, the Greeks rose against their masters and declared themselves a free and independent state. This was a source of deep satisfaction to the liberal parties in the West, who had suffered so many disappointments since the opening of the Congress of Vienna. A constitutional assembly was convoked in Greece, and, having completed a provisional constitution, it issued the following manifesto.

464. Proclamation of independence issued by the Greek National Assembly (January 27, 1822).

We, descendants of the wise and noble peoples of Hellas, we who are the contemporaries of the enlightened and civilized nations of Europe, we who behold the advantages which they enjoy under the protection of the impenetrable ægis of the law, find it no longer possible to suffer without cowardice and self-contempt the cruel yoke of the Ottoman power which has weighed upon us for more than four centuries, — a power which does not listen to reason and knows no other law than its own will, which orders and disposes everything despotically and according to its caprice. After this prolonged slavery we have determined to take arms to avenge ourselves and our country against a frightful tyranny, iniquitous in its very essence, — an unexampled despotism to which no other rule can be compared.

The war which we are carrying on against the Turk is not that of a faction or the result of sedition. It is not aimed at the advantage of any single part of the Greek people; it is a national war, a holy war, a war the object of which is to reconquer the rights of individual liberty, of property and honor, — rights which the civilized people of Europe, our neighbors, enjoy to-day; rights of which the cruel and unheard-of tyranny of the Ottomans would deprive us — us alone — and the very memory of which they would stifle in our hearts.

Are we, then, less reasonable than other peoples, that we remain deprived of these rights? Are we of a nature so degraded and abject that we should be viewed as unworthy to enjoy them, condemned to remain crushed under a perpetual slavery and subjected, like beasts of burden or mere automatons, to the absurd caprice of a cruel tyrant who, like an infamous brigand, has come from distant regions to invade our borders? Nature has deeply graven these rights in the hearts of all men; laws in harmony with nature have so completely consecrated them that neither three nor four centuries — nor thousands nor millions of centuries — can destroy them. Force and violence have been able to restrict and paralyze them for a season, but force may once more resuscitate them in all the vigor which they formerly

enjoyed during many centuries; nor have we ever ceased in Hellas to defend these rights by arms whenever opportunity offered.

Building upon the foundation of our natural rights, and desiring to assimilate ourselves to the rest of the Christians of Europe, our brethren, we have begun a war against the Turks, or rather, uniting all our isolated strength, we have formed ourselves into a single armed body, firmly resolved to attain our end, to govern ourselves by wise laws, or to be altogether annihilated, believing it to be unworthy of us, as descendants of the glorious peoples of Hellas, to live henceforth in a state of slavery fitted rather for unreasoning animals than for rational beings.

Ten months have elapsed since we began this national war; the all-powerful God has succored us; although we were not adequately prepared for so great an enterprise, our arms have everywhere been victorious, despite the powerful obstacles which we have encountered and still encounter everywhere. We have had to contend with a situation bristling with difficulties, and we are still engaged in our efforts to overcome them. It should not, therefore, appear astonishing that we were not able from the very first to proclaim our independence and take rank among the civilized peoples of the earth, marching forward side by side with them. It was impossible to occupy ourselves with our political existence before we had established our independence. We trust these reasons may justify, in the eyes of the nations, our delay, as well as console us for the anarchy in which we have found ourselves. . . .

EPIDAURUS, January $\frac{15}{27}$, 1822:
the First Year of Independence.

The first signal disturbance of the arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna was the revolt of the former Austrian Netherlands from the rule of the king of Holland, to whom the Congress had assigned them. The creation of the present kingdom of Belgium is

described in an address read at the opening session of the Belgian congress, November 10, 1830.

465. Reasons which led to the creation of the kingdom of Belgium.

In the name of the Belgian people, the provisional government opens an assembly of the representatives of the nation. The nation has confided to these representatives the august mission of founding, on the broad and solid basis of liberty, the edifice of the new social order which will be the beginning and the guarantee of durable happiness to Belgium.

Grievances of the Belgian provinces against Holland.

You know, gentlemen, that at the time of our union with Holland a Fundamental Law was presented to an assembly of notables, chosen by the government, not to examine, discuss, modify, and finally to accept it and make it the condition of a compact between the people and the head of the state, but either to submit to it unconditionally, or to reject it altogether. It was rejected, as might have been expected from the good sense and integrity of the Belgians; but by an unparalleled subterfuge it was nevertheless declared to be accepted, and thus it came about that our country was oppressed by a constitution imposed by Holland.

If this Fundamental Law had at least been properly executed in all its provisions, in time, perhaps, and with the aid of the progress which the arbitrary conduct of the ministers compelled us daily to make in the career of constitutional opposition, it might have become the hope of Belgian liberty.

But far from this being the case, freedom of conscience was violated, education fettered, the press condemned to be nothing more than an instrument of the government or forced into silence . . . and the right of petition was disregarded. The despotic imposition of a privileged language, . . . and an enormous debt and expenditure, were the only portion which Holland brought to us at the time of our deplorable union. Add to these grievances taxes, overwhelming by their amount and still more by the manner in which they were apportioned, laws always voted by the

Dutch for Holland only and always against Belgium, . . . and, lastly, the most offensive partiality in the distribution of civil and military appointments by a government in whose eye the name of Belgian was a disgrace; in a word, all Belgium treated as a conquered province, as a colony, — everything rendered a revolution necessary and inevitable and hastened its approach. Such just and real grievances could only lead to one result.

We had risen against despotism to reconquer our rights, and we were treated by tyranny as rebels. Our cities were burned; the most barbarous treatment was inflicted even upon old men and upon women; the rights of humanity, the laws of war, were trampled underfoot. Such conduct testifies to the ferocity of our enemy and calls down blessings on the victory of the people which has cleared our territory of them.

The fruit of this victory has been independence. The people have proclaimed it through us, and have called you together, gentlemen, as the organ of its wishes to establish it forever.

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[For the general bibliography of the period since 1815, see the close of the following chapter.]

CHAPTER XL

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY AND ITALY

I. Revolution of 1848 in France: Napoleon III

The provisional government established in Paris after the mob had attacked the Tuileries, February 24, 1848, immediately issued the following proclamation.

In the name of the French people:

466. The overthrow of the Orleanist monarchy is proclaimed by the provisional government (February 24, 1848).

A reactionary and oligarchical government has just been overthrown by the heroism of the people of Paris. That government has fled, leaving behind it a trail of blood that forbids it ever to retrace its steps.

The blood of the people has flowed as in July; but this time this noble people shall not be deceived. It has won a national and popular government in accord with the rights, the progress, and the will of this great and generous nation.

A provisional government, the result of pressing necessity and ratified by the voice of the people and of the deputies of the departments, in the session of February 24, is for the moment invested with the task of assuring and organizing the national victory. It is composed of Messieurs Dupont (de l'Eure), Lamartine, Crémieux, Arago (of the Institute), Ledru-Rollin, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Armand Marrast, Louis Blanc, Ferdinand Flocon, and Albert (a workingman).

These citizens have not hesitated a moment to accept the patriotic commission which is imposed upon them by the pressure of necessity. With the capital of France on fire, the justification for the present provisional government must be sought in the public safety. All France will understand this and will lend it the support of its patriotism. Under

the popular government which the provisional government proclaims, every citizen is a magistrate.

Frenchmen, it is for you to give to the world the example which Paris has given to France; prepare yourselves by order and by confidence in your destiny for the firm institutions which you are about to be called upon to establish.

Provisional government desires a republic.

The provisional government wishes to establish a republic, — subject, however, to ratification by the people, who shall be immediately consulted.

The unity of the nation (formed henceforth of all the classes of citizens who compose it); the government of the nation by itself; liberty, equality, and fraternity, for fundamental principles, and "the people" for our emblem and watchword: these constitute the democratic government which France owes to itself, and which our efforts shall secure for it.

The workingmen and their leaders played an important part in the February revolution. This fact is emphasized by the decrees in the interest of the laboring classes which were issued by the provisional government on the day following its creation.

467. Decrees of the provisional government relating to the workingmen (February 25, 1848).

The provisional government of the French republic decrees that the Tuileries shall serve hereafter as a home for the veterans of labor.

The provisional government of the French republic pledges itself to guarantee the means of subsistence of the workingman by labor.

It pledges itself to guarantee labor to all citizens.

Labor unions sanctioned.

It recognizes that workingmen ought to enter into associations among themselves in order to enjoy the advantage of their labor.

Suppression of the civil list.

The provisional government returns to the workingmen, to whom it rightfully belongs, the million which was about to fall due upon the civil list.

Return of pawned articles.

The provisional government of the French republic decrees that all articles pledged at the pawn shops since the first of February, consisting of linen, garments, or clothes, etc., upon which the loan does not exceed ten francs, shall be given back to those who pledged them. The minister of finance is ordered to meet the payments incidental to the execution of the present edict.

Establishment of national workshops (February 26).

The provisional government of the republic decrees the immediate establishment of national workshops. The minister of public works is charged with the execution of the present decree.

The formal proclamation of the second French republic is very characteristic of the momentary situation.

468. The second French republic is proclaimed (February 26, 1848).

In the name of the French people:

Citizens: royalty, under whatever form, is abolished; no more legitimism, no more Bonapartism, no regency.

The provisional government has taken all the measures necessary to render impossible the return of the former dynasty or the advent of a new dynasty.

The republic is proclaimed.

The people are united.

All the forts which surround the capital are ours.

The brave garrison of Vincennes is a garrison of brothers.

Let us retain that old republican flag whose three colors made with our fathers the circuit of the globe.

Let us show that this symbol of equality, of liberty, and of fraternity is at the same time the symbol of order — of order the more real, the more durable, since justice is its foundation and the whole people its instrument.

The people have already realized that the provisioning of Paris requires a freer circulation in the streets, and those who have erected the barricades have already in several places made openings large enough for the passage of wagons and carts. Let this example be imitated everywhere. Let Paris reassume its accustomed appearance and trade its activity and confidence. . . .

Louis Napoleon becomes a candidate for the presidency of the new French republic.

Although Louis Napoleon had, after the last of his two early and futile attempts to make himself emperor, been imprisoned, then exiled, he was, after the February revolution, elected a member of the Legislative Body. When it came to choosing a president under the new constitution, he was naturally considered as a candidate, and issued the following campaign manifesto (November, 1848).

Louis Napoleon to his fellow-citizens:

469. Louis Napoleon explains his position to the voters of France (November 29, 1848).

In order to recall me from exile, you have elected me a representative of the people; on the eve of choosing a chief magistrate for the republic my name presents itself to you as a symbol of order and security.

Those proofs of so honorable a confidence are, I am well aware, addressed to my name rather than to myself, who, as yet, have done nothing for my country; but the more the memory of the Emperor protects me and inspires your suffrages, the more I feel compelled to acquaint you with my sentiments and principles. There must be no equivocation between us.

I am moved by no ambition which dreams one day of empire and war, the next of the application of subversive theories. Brought up in free countries, disciplined in the school of misfortune, I shall ever remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages and the will of the Assembly impose upon me.

If elected president, I shall shrink from no danger, from no sacrifice, in the defense of society, which has been so outrageously assailed. I shall devote myself wholly and without reservation to the consolidation of the republic, so that it may be wise in its laws, honest in its aims, great and strong in its deeds. My greatest honor would be to hand on to my successor, after four years of office, the public power consolidated, its liberties intact, and a genuine progress assured. . . .

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Before the expiration of his four years' term, Louis Napoleon, by the *coup d'état* of December, 1851, secured an extension of his presidency for ten years. He was not satisfied, however, until he had won the title of Emperor. In September, 1852, he undertook a tour through the southern provinces in order to test public opinion. Many suggestions had reached him encouraging him to assume the imperial crown, and frequently on his journey he was received with the cry, "Long live the emperor!" In his speech at Bordeaux, October 9, 1852, he definitely announced his belief that France was ready for the abolition of the second republic.

Louis Napoleon determines to win the imperial title.

470. Louis Napoleon's Bordeaux address (October 9, 1852).

The purpose of this journey, as you know, was to see for myself our beautiful provinces of the south and familiarize myself with their needs. It has, however, given rise to a much more important result. Indeed, — and I say it with a candor as far removed from arrogance as from false modesty, — never has a people testified in a manner more direct, spontaneous, and unanimous, the longing to be freed from anxiety as to the future by concentrating in a single person an authority which shall accord with their desires. They realize now both the false hopes with which they have been deluded and the dangers which threaten them. . . .

France to-day encompasses me with her sympathies because I do not belong to the group of dreamers. In order to benefit the country it is not necessary to resort to new systems, but, above all, to establish confidence in the present and security for the future. This is why France seems to wish to revert to the empire.

There is, nevertheless, one apprehension, and that I shall set at rest. A spirit of distrust leads certain persons to say that the empire means war. I say, the empire means peace. France longs for peace, and if France is satisfied the world is tranquil. Glory is rightly handed down hereditarily, but not war. . . .

Napoleon's policy of peace.

I concede, nevertheless, that, like the Emperor, I have many conquests to make. I would, like him, conquer, for the sake of harmony, the warring parties and bring into the great popular current the wasteful and conflicting eddies. I would conquer, for the sake of religion, morality, and material ease, that portion of the population, still very numerous, which, in the midst of a country of faith and belief, hardly knows the precepts of Christ; which, in the midst of the most fertile country of the world, is hardly able to enjoy the primary necessities of life. We have immense uncultivated districts to bring under cultivation, roads to open, harbors to construct, rivers to render navigable, canals to finish, and our network of railroads to bring to completion. . . .

This is what I understand by the empire, if the empire is to be reëstablished. These are the conquests which I contemplate, and all of you who surround me, who, like myself, wish the good of our common country, you are my soldiers.

II. The Revolution of 1848 in Germany and Italy

The February revolution in France was speedily followed by an uprising of the liberal party in Vienna, which, on March 13, forced Metternich to resign the influential position which he had held for so many years. The next day he wrote an account of the affair to Tsar Nicholas, who, he well knew, would heartily sympathize with him.

471. Metternich informs the tsar of the March revolution in Vienna.

Sire, the most invincible of forces, that of circumstances, has put an end to my long political life. Your Imperial Majesty has always deigned to honor me with that form of esteem which has the highest value in my eyes, namely, confidence in my principles and such encouragement as the upright man should seek in his own conscience. To-day once more my conscience impels me as a duty to lay before your Imperial Majesty the expression of my profound gratitude for the sympathy which I believe that I have merited

on your part, and of which during the whole course of your Majesty's glorious reign you have deigned to give me so many proofs.

Europe, sire, is involved in a crisis which much exceeds the bounds of political movements. It is a crisis in the social body. I foresaw the event; I have combated it consistently during a ministry of well-nigh forty years. To check the torrent is no longer within the power of man. It can only be guided.

My efforts have been in vain. And as I do not know how to steer a middle course, or to remain in a situation repugnant to my moral sense, I have retired from the scene. Too advanced in years to hope to witness the events which may ultimately, according to my views, put an end to the present crisis, it only remains for me to offer to my master and to my country the good wishes which I shall not cease to entertain for their inseparable happiness. . . .

Condescend, sire, to retain a kind remembrance of me and permit me to assure you of the most profound respect. I remain, your Majesty, etc., etc.,

METTERNICH.

VIENNA, March 14, 1848.

After a few months' triumph the revolutionary government in Vienna was overthrown by the bombardment and capture of the city, October, 1848, by Windischgrätz, the emperor's general, who had just suppressed the Bohemian revolution. The city had decided to surrender, when it was encouraged to a last futile resistance by the arrival of an army from Hungary ready to forward the revolution. An Englishman, an eyewitness, stationed outside the city, published the following narrative in the English newspapers.

The beautiful street leading to the Prater [a park] had been the scene of the hardest fighting of all, as it had been fortified by a succession of barricades, built up to the first-floor windows in a half-moon shape, with regular embrasures

472. Vienna retaken by the emperor's troops under Windischgrätz (October 31, 1848).

and planted with cannon. This was strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses; but they, and the pools of blood all about, did not strike us so much as the horrid smell of roast flesh arising from the half-burned bodies of rebels killed in the houses fired by Congreve rockets, which we saw used by the troops with terrible effect. Half of the houses in this beautiful suburb are thus burned down, while the other half are riddled with shot and shell. On every side we may see weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, picking, literally piecemeal, out of the ruins the half-consumed bodies of their relatives.

On Sunday evening, the 29th, the city, dreading a bombardment from the Belvedere, agreed to surrender; but the capitulation was shamefully violated when early the next morning the approach of the Hungarians to raise the siege was signaled from the tower of the cathedral. Then came the real crisis. . . . We were fired upon continually from the ramparts; and I for the first time literally tasted blood, which was dashed over my face and clothes, when a round shot carried off the head of an artilleryman by my side.

All this time the roar of cannon, the whizzing of rockets, and the roll of musketry in our rear told us that the Hungarian army had joined battle; while in our front, from all the ramparts, tops of houses, and churches, the rebels were firing signal guns and waving flags to cheer them on. It was a beautiful clear, sunshiny autumn day; and all felt that there were trembling in the balance not only the fate of the grand old Austrian empire (*an Siegen und an Ehren reich*) — the monarchy of Charles V and Maria Theresa, and so long the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk — but with it the peace and safety of Europe.

At length the firing behind us gradually slackened and then died away; and towards sunset the victorious imperialists marched back from the field of battle, having utterly routed the Hungarians and driven three thousand of them into the Danube, which will roll their bodies down to Pesth, a fearful tiding of their defeat. You may fancy what cheers

arose from the imperialists and what yells of despair from the rebels, whose offers of a conditional surrender were now scornfully rejected.

Situation in Italy.

Two months before the overthrow of Metternich and a month before the February revolution in France, it was clear that the Austrian government was likely to have trouble with its subjects in Italy. The English consul general writes from Venice, January 18, 1848:

473. The signs of revolt in Venetia and Lombardy (January, 1848).

Though the Venetian provinces have hitherto been much more tranquil than the provinces of Lombardy, they appear now disposed to make common cause with the latter, and it is surprising to see the change that a short time has brought about.

The Austrians ostracized in northern Italy.

When I left Venice, early in November last, everything was perfectly quiet, and although some little excitement had been produced by the speeches delivered by a few persons during the sitting of the Scientific Congress, society was upon its accustomed footing. Now, however, it is quite different; the Venetians have adopted the system of the Milanese, and there is hardly a Venetian house into which an Austrian is admitted. This determination has been come to very unwillingly by many, but they act under a system of intimidation that is carried on to a degree scarcely credible. Persons supposed to have a leaning towards the government are held up to public execration, and their names are written upon the walls as traitors to their country. . . .

Should a collision ensue between the troops and the people, — and a very slight thing may bring it on, — the consequences, I fear, would be extremely serious.

The government at Vienna, however, had been warned by disturbances in Milan early in the month, and Marshal Radetzky encouraged his troops by the following declaration, issued in Milan on the same day that the above letter was written from Venice.

MILAN, January 18, 1848.

474. Marshal Radetzky encourages his soldiers.

His Majesty the emperor, being determined according to his rights and duties to defend the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, as well as every other part of his dominions, against all attacks of an enemy, either from without or from within, has permitted me to make this, his resolve, known to all the troops of the army stationed in Italy. He is persuaded that his intentions will meet with the firmest support in the valor and fidelity of the army.

Soldiers, you have heard the words of the emperor; I am proud to make them known to you. Against your fidelity and your valor the efforts of fanaticism and the infidel spirit of innovation will be broken like brittle glass against solid rock. The sword which I have borne with honor in so many battles during sixty-five years is still eager for action. I shall know how to make use of it to defend the tranquillity of a country a short time since most happy, and which a mad faction now seeks to plunge into misery.

Soldiers, our emperor relies upon you; your old general trusts you: let this suffice. Let them not force us to unfold the banner of the double-headed eagle, for the strength of its talons is yet unimpaired. Let our motto be, Defense and tranquillity to faithful and friendly citizens and destruction to the enemy who shall dare with a treacherous hand to disturb the peace and welfare of nations.

The present order of the day shall be announced to all the corps in their respective languages.

On March 22, 1848, Radetzky, in spite of his boasts, was forced to evacuate Milan, and the provisional government which had been established there appealed to the king of Sardinia for aid.

Sacred Majesty: MILAN, March 23, 1848.

We have vanquished the enemy who occupied the city. He left the castle last night and marched towards Verona, but he is not yet far from the capital and is marking every

step with slaughter and plunder. Our citizens have made heroic efforts, and with very few resources they have repulsed the pride of an enemy confident in his strength. . . .

475. Milan, after revolting from Austria, appeals to the king of Sardinia for aid (March 23, 1848).

Although the city is now free, the speedy and potent aid of your Majesty is none the less important. The provisional government therefore implores your Majesty to hasten to assist us by every means. Your Majesty will thus be a benefactor to the sacred cause of Italian independence and brotherhood, and will surely receive the applause and gratitude of this people. We would willingly add more, but our position as a provisional government does not allow us to anticipate the wishes of the nation, which are, without doubt, all directed toward the furtherance of the cause of Italian unity.

The Austrian government was able, as we have seen, to put down, in October, 1848, the revolt in Vienna, and then had a free hand to reconquer its Italian provinces. The intervention of Charles Albert was unsuccessful, and after his final defeat at Novara, March 23, 1849, his abdication was proclaimed in the following manner.

Proclamation of Eugene, prince of Savoy-Carignan, lieutenant general of his Majesty:

476. Proclamation of Charles Albert's abdication (March 26, 1849).

I have a sad message to communicate to you. The king, Charles Albert, after having faced with intrepidity the balls of the enemy, would not consent, in view of the reverses of our armies, to bow to ill fortune. He has preferred to crown his life by a new sacrifice. On March 23 he abdicated in favor of the duke of Savoy. The gratitude of his people toward him will know no end, nor our respectful attachment. Let us rally around our new king, in battle a worthy rival of the paternal virtues, and the stanch guardian of the constitutional liberties granted by his august father. Long live the king, Victor Emmanuel!

TURIN, March 26.

While Lombardy and Venetia were trying vainly, with the help of the king of Sardinia, to free themselves from the yoke of Austria, the Germans were busy drawing up a new constitution, which they trusted would at last make a nation out of the various German states so loosely united by the union of 1815. On the occasion of the opening of the National Assembly at Frankfort, the Diet of the old Confederation sent to the new Assembly the following graceful, if rather forced, message of congratulation.

477. Message of the Diet to the new National Assembly at Frankfort (May 18, 1848).

The force of extraordinary events, the ardent desire which has loudly manifested itself throughout our whole fatherland, together with the summons on the part of the several German governments which these have called forth, have combined to bring into being in this momentous hour an Assembly such as has never before been seen in all our history.

Our old political life has been stirred to its very depths and, greeted by the acclamations and confidence of the entire German people, the German parliament, new and grand, emerges into life.

The German governments and their common organ, the Diet, united with the German people in a common love for our great fatherland, and gladly yielding to the spirit of the time, extend a hand of welcome to the representatives of the nation and wish them happiness and prosperity.

But while the members of the Frankfort Assembly laboriously worked out a constitution, conditions became more and more unfavorable to their hopes of a political regeneration of Germany. Austria once more regained its former influence and when, a year later, the Assembly offered the imperial crown to the timid Frederick William of Prussia, he naturally declined it. He proposed, nevertheless, that Prussia should join the other German states

in preparing a revision of the constitution drawn up by the deputies at Frankfort, who had been very generally discredited by the conduct of the radical and republican factions.

To my People:

478. The king of Prussia refuses the crown tendered him by the Frankfort Assembly (May 15, 1849).

Taking as a pretense the interests of Germany, the enemies of the fatherland have raised the standard of revolt, first in the neighboring Saxony, then in several districts of south Germany. To my deep chagrin, even in parts of our own land some have permitted themselves to be seduced into following this standard and attempting, in open rebellion against the legal government, to overturn the order of things established by both divine and human sanction. In so serious and dangerous a crisis I am moved publicly to address a word to my people.

I was not able to return a favorable reply to the offer of a crown on the part of the German National Assembly, because the Assembly has not the right, without the consent of the German governments, to bestow the crown which they tendered me, and, moreover, because they offered the crown upon condition that I would accept a constitution which could not be reconciled with the rights and safety of the German states.

I have exhausted every means to reach an understanding with the German National Assembly. . . . Now the Assembly has broken with Prussia. The majority of its members are no longer those men upon whom Germany looked with pride and confidence. The greater part of the deputies voluntarily left the Assembly when they saw that it was on the road to ruin, and yesterday I ordered all the Prussian deputies who had not already withdrawn to be recalled. The other governments will do the same.

Conduct of the republican radicals

A party now dominates the Assembly which is in league with the terrorists. While they urge the unity of Germany as a pretense, they are really fighting the battle of godlessness, perjury, and robbery, and kindling a war against

monarchy; but if monarchy were overthrown it would carry with it the blessings of law, liberty, and property. The horrors committed in Dresden, Breslau, and Elberfeld under the banner of German unity afford a melancholy proof of this. New horrors are occurring and are in prospect.

While such crimes have put an end to the hope that the Frankfort Assembly can bring about German unity, I have, with a fidelity and persistence suiting my royal station, never lost hope. My government has taken up with the more important German states the work on the German constitution begun by the Frankfort Assembly.[1] . . .

This is my method. Only madness or deception will dare, in view of these facts, to assert that I have given up the cause of German unity, or that I am untrue to my earlier convictions and assurances. . . .

CHARLOTTENBURG, May 15, 1849. FREDERICK WILLIAM.

III. Establishment of the Kingdom of Italy

It was left for Cavour and Victor Emmanuel to carry on the work of Italian unification which Charles Albert had begun. Napoleon III, in coming to the aid of the Italians, explained his motives to France in a proclamation of May 3, 1859.

479. Napoleon III justifies his intervention in Italy.

Frenchmen, Austria in ordering her army to invade the territory of the king of Sardinia, our ally, has declared war upon us. She has thus violated treaties and justice, and threatens our frontiers. All the great powers have protested against this aggression.

Piedmont having accepted conditions which should have maintained peace, one cannot but inquire what can be the reason for this sudden invasion on Austria's part. It is because Austria has brought matters to such a pass that

[1] Prussia's plans were ignominiously given up in the face of Austria's opposition.

either she must dominate as far as the Cottian Alps, or Italy must be freed to the Adriatic; for every corner of territory which remains independent in that whole region is a menace to her authority.

Hitherto moderation has been the rule of my conduct; now an aggressive policy becomes my duty. Let France arm herself and say to Europe with determination: "We do not wish for conquest, but we are resolved to maintain without flinching our national and traditional policy; we observe treaties on condition that they shall not be violated to our disadvantage; we respect the territory and the rights of neutral powers, but openly avow our sympathy for a people whose history is bound up with ours, and who groan under foreign oppression."

France has shown her hatred of anarchy; she has been pleased to give me an authority strong enough to render powerless the abettors of disorder and the incorrigible members of former factions who have not hesitated to form alliances with our enemies; but she has not, on that account, abandoned her function as a civilizing power. Her natural allies have always been those who desire the improvement of humanity, and when she draws her sword it is not in order to domineer, but to liberate.

The purpose of this war is, then, to restore Italy to herself, and not simply to change her master; and we shall have upon our frontiers a friendly people who will owe their independence to us. We are not going into Italy to foment disorder, nor to disturb the authority of the Holy Father whom we have replaced upon his throne, but to protect him against that foreign oppression which weighs upon the whole peninsula, and to participate in establishing order there which shall satisfy all legitimate interests. We are, in short, about to enter that classic land rendered illustrious by so many victories. We shall find there traces of our forefathers, of whom God grant we may prove ourselves worthy. . . .

NAPOLEON.

PALACE OF THE TUILERIES, May 3, 1859.

In spite of the fact that, soon after the war began, Napoleon abruptly concluded a truce with Austria, the work of Italian unity went on, and Victor Emmanuel was able to report important progress in his address at the opening of the Sardinian parliament, April 2, 1860.

480. Victor Emmanuel reviews the events of 1859–1860.

The last time that I opened this parliament, in the midst of the travails of Italy and dangers to the state, faith in divine justice encouraged me to prophesy a happy issue for us. In a very short space of time an invasion has been repelled; Lombardy has been freed, thanks to the glorious exploits of our heroes, and central Italy has been delivered, thanks to the remarkable courage of its inhabitants; and to-day the representatives of right and of the hopes of the nation are assembled about me.

We owe many benefits to a magnanimous ally, to the bravery of his soldiers as well as ours, to the self-abnegation of the volunteers, and to the harmony of the various peoples; and we render thanks to God, for without superhuman aid these enterprises, memorable not only for our own generation but for ages to come, could not have been achieved.

Cession of Savoy and Nice to France.

Out of gratitude to France for the services she has rendered to Italy, and in order to consolidate the union of the two nations, which have a community of origin, of principles, and of destiny, some sacrifice was necessary; I have made that one which costs most to my own heart. Subject to the vote of the people and the approbation of the parliament, . . . I have agreed to a treaty providing for the reunion of Savoy and of the district of Nice to France.

We still have many difficulties to overcome, but, sustained by public opinion and by the love of the people, I will not permit any right or liberty to be infringed or diminished.

Victor Emmanuel's attitude toward the Church.

Although I am as consistent in my respect toward the supreme head of our religion as the Catholic rulers, my ancestors, have always shown themselves, nevertheless, should the ecclesiastical authority resort to spiritual arms in support of its temporal interests, I will, relying upon a pure

conscience and the traditions of my forefathers, find strength to maintain civil liberty and my authority, for the exercise of which I owe an account only to God and to my people. . . .

The spirit of Garibaldi is clearly seen in his own account, here much condensed, of his departure for Sicily with his thousand warriors, and of his capture of Naples.

481. Garibaldi describes his Sicilian expedition and the capture of Naples (September-October, 1860). (From his *Memoirs.*)

Once more, Sicily, it was thine to awaken sleepers, to drag them from the lethargy in which the stupefying poison of diplomatists and doctrinaires had sunk them, — slumberers who, clad in armor not their own, confided to others the safety of their country, thus keeping her dependent and degraded.

Austria is powerful, her armies are numerous ; several formidable neighbors are opposed, on account of petty dynastic aims, to the resurrection of Italy. The Bourbon[1] has one hundred thousand soldiers. Yet what matter? The hearts of twenty-five millions throb and tremble with the love of their country. . . .

O noble Thousand! In these days of shame and misery I love to remember you. Turning to you, the mind feels itself rise above this mephitic atmosphere of robbery and intrigue, relieved to remember that, though the majority of your gallant band have scattered their bones over the battlefields of liberty, there yet remain enough to represent you, ever ready to prove to your insolent detractors that all are not traitors and cowards — all are not shameless self-seekers, in this land of tyrants and slaves!

Yet sail on, sail on fearlessly, "Piemonte" and "Lombardo," — noble vessels, manned by the noblest of crews. History will remember your illustrious names in spite of calumny. Sail on, sail on; ye bear the Thousand who in later days will become a million, — in that day when the blindfolded masses shall understand that the priest is an impostor and tyrannies a monstrous anachronism. How glorious were thy Thousand, O Italy, fighting against the

Garibaldi's dislike of Church and monarchy.

[1] I.e. the king of Naples.

plumed and gilded agents of despotism and driving them before them like sheep! glorious in their motley array, just as they came from their offices and workshops at the trumpet call of duty, in the student's coat and hat or the modest garb of the mason, carpenter, or smith. . . .

After their successful operations in Sicily, Garibaldi led his troops to the mainland.

The first of October dawned on the plains of the ancient capital of Campagna upon a hideous tumult, a fratricidal conflict. On the side of the Bourbons, it is true, foreign mercenaries were numerous, — Bavarians, Swiss, and others belonging to the nations who for centuries had been accustomed to look upon this Italy of ours as their pleasure ground. This crew, under the guidance and with the blessings of the priest, have always been accustomed, by sheer right of the strongest, to cut the throats of the Italians, trained from childhood by the priest to bow the knee to them. But it is only too certain that the greater number of the men who fought on the slopes of Tifata were sons of this unhappy country driven to butcher one another, — one side led by a young king, the child of crime, the other fighting for the sacred cause of their country. . . .

The enemy, after an obstinate combat, were routed all along the line and retired in disorder within the walls of Capua about five P.M., their retreat being covered by the guns of that fortress. About the same time Bixio announced to me the victory of his right wing over the Bourbon troops, so that I was able to telegraph to Naples, "Victory all along the line."

[The next day] the Bourbon troops, taken unawares, offered but little resistance and were driven back almost at a run, hotly pursued by the brave Calabrians as far as Caserta Vecchia. A few of them held this village for a short time, firing from the windows and from behind the cover afforded by some ruined walls; but these were quickly surrounded and made prisoners. . . .

With the victory of Caserta Vecchia, October 2, the glorious period of our campaign of 1860 closes. The Italian army of the north, sent by Farini and Company to combat the "revolution personified" in us, found us brothers; and to this army fell the task of completing the annihilation of Bourbonism in the Two Sicilies. In order to regulate the position of our gallant fellow-soldiers, I asked for the recognition of the army of the south as a part of the national army; and it was a piece of injustice not to grant my request. They resolved to enjoy the fruits of conquest while banishing the conquerors.

The Sardinian government sends an army to check Garibaldi.

When I understood this I handed over to Victor Emmanuel the dictatorship conferred upon me by the people, proclaiming him king of Italy. To him I recommended my gallant comrades, the thought of whom was the only painful element of my departure, eager as I was to return to my solitude.

Magnanimous retirement of Garibaldi.

On the 18th of February, 1861, the new parliament of Italy met at Turin in a large hall temporarily built of wood. King Victor Emmanuel opened proceedings with the following address.

Senators and Deputies:

Free and almost entirely united by the wonderful aid of Divine Providence, the harmonious coöperation of the people, and the splendid valor of the army, Italy confides in our uprightness and wisdom. Upon you it devolves to give her uniform institutions and a firm foundation. In extending greater administrative liberty to peoples that have had various usages and institutions, you will take care that political unity, the aspiration of so many centuries, may never be diminished.

482. Victor Emmanuel's address at the opening session of the Italian parliament (February 18, 1861).

The opinion of civilized nations is favorable to us. The just and liberal principles now prevailing in the councils of Europe are favorable to us. Italy herself will in turn become a guarantee of order and peace, and will once more be an efficient instrument of universal civilization.

The emperor of the French, firmly upholding the maxim of non-intervention, — a maxim eminently beneficial to us, — nevertheless deemed it proper to recall his envoy. If this fact was a cause of chagrin to us, it did not change our sentiments of gratitude toward him or diminish our confidence in his affection for the Italian cause. France and Italy, with their common origin, traditions, and customs, formed on the plains of Magenta and Solferino a bond that will prove indissoluble.

The government and people of England, that ancient country of freedom, warmly sanction our right to be the arbiters of our own destinies; and they have lavishly bestowed upon us their good offices, the grateful remembrances of which will be imperishable.

Accession of William as king of Prussia.

A loyal and illustrious prince having ascended the throne of Prussia, I dispatched to him an ambassador in token of respect for him personally and of sympathy with the noble German nation, which I hope will become more and more secure in the conviction that Italy, being established in her natural unity, cannot offend the rights or interests of other nations. . . .

Appreciative allusion to Garibaldi's band.

Valiant youths, led on by a captain who has filled with his name the most distant countries, have made it evident that neither servitude nor long misfortune has been able to weaken the fiber of the Italian peoples. These facts have inspired the nation with great confidence in its own destinies. I take pleasure in manifesting to the first parliament of Italy the joy that fills my heart as king and soldier.

The first measure proposed was a bill declaring Victor Emmanuel king of Italy; this passed almost unanimously, with but two votes in the negative. Against this act the papal government protested.

A Catholic king, forgetful of every religious principle, despising every right, trampling upon every law, after having, little by little, despoiled the august head of the Catholic Church of the greatest and most flourishing portion of

his legitimate possessions, has now taken to himself the title of King of Italy; with which title he has sought to seal the sacrilegious usurpations already consummated, — usurpations which his government has already manifested its intention of completing to the detriment of the patrimony of the apostolic see. Although the Holy Father has solemnly protested as he saw successive attacks made upon his sovereignty, he is nevertheless under the obligation of issuing a fresh protest against the assumption of a title tending to legitimize the iniquity of so many deeds.

483. Pope Pius IX's attitude toward the unification of Italy.

It would here be superfluous to recall the sacred character of the possessions of the Church's patrimony and the right of the supreme pontiff to it, — an incontestable right, recognized at all times and by all governments. Therefore the Holy Father will never be able to recognize the title of King of Italy, arrogated to himself by the king of Sardinia, since it is opposed to justice and to the sacred property of the Church. On the contrary, he makes the most ample and formal protest against such an usurpation.

A few words uttered a short time after by the prime minister of Italy, Baron Ricasoli, showed that the pope's apprehensions were by no means ill-founded. During a debate in the parliament, Ricasoli, after repudiating the idea that Italy would ever surrender an inch of Italian land, said:

484. The Italian government looks forward to winning both Venice and Rome.

But the king's government sees a territory to defend and a territory to recover. It sees Rome; it sees Venice! To the Eternal City and to the Queen of the Adriatic it directs the thoughts, the hopes, and the energies of the nation. The government feels the heavy task that lies before it; with God's help it will fulfill it. Opportunity matured by time will open our way to Venice. In the meantime we think of Rome.

Yes, we will go to Rome. Shall Rome, politically severed from the rest of Italy, continue to be the center of intrigue

and conspiracy, a permanent threat to public order? To go to Rome is for the Italians not merely a right; it is an inexorable necessity. The king's government will be frank and clear upon this matter, even more than upon any other subject. We do not wish to go to Rome through insurrectional movements, — unreasonable, rash, mad attempts, — which may endanger our former acquisitions and ruin the national enterprise. We will go to Rome hand in hand with France!

IV. The Austro–Prussian War and the Founding of the North German Federation

Bismarck availed himself of the complications involved in the disposal of Schleswig-Holstein to put Austria in the wrong. On June 14, 1866, the king of Prussia declared that Austria had violated the principles upon which the union of 1815 was founded, and that the union had, accordingly, ceased to exist. A few days later William issued a summons to the Prussian people (*"An mein Volk"*).

485. King William explains to his people the cause of the war with Austria (June 18, 1866).

At the instant when Prussia's army is advancing to a decisive conflict I am moved to address my people, — the sons and grandsons of those brave forefathers to whom a half a century ago my father (now resting in God) spoke the never-to-be-forgotten words, "The country is in danger." Austria and a great part of Germany are armed against us.

It is but a few years since, when there was a question of freeing a German land from foreign domination, I voluntarily, and without a thought of previous grievances, extended to the emperor of Austria the hand of friendship. From the blood shed together on the field of battle I hoped that a brotherhood in arms would spring which might in turn lead to a firmer union resting upon mutual respect and gratitude. This, I trusted, would bring with it that coöperation which should have as its fruit the domestic welfare of Germany and the increase of its prestige among the nations.

But this hope has been disappointed. Austria will not forget that its princes once ruled Germany. In the more youthful but powerfully developing Prussia she refuses to perceive a natural ally, but sees only a hostile rival. Prussia — so Austria reasons — must be opposed on every occasion, since what is good for Prussia is bad for Austria. The old, unhappy jealousy has again blazed up. Prussia shall be weakened, annihilated, dishonored. With Prussia no treaties are to be observed; the confederated princes have not only been roused against Prussia; they have been induced to dissolve the union. Wherever we look throughout Germany we are surrounded by enemies, whose war cry is, "Down with Prussia!"

But the spirit of 1813 still lives in my people. Who can rob us of a single foot of Prussian soil, if we are firmly resolved to protect the acquisitions of our fathers; if king and people are united more firmly than ever by the danger to the fatherland, and hold it to be their highest and most sacred duty to risk blood and treasure for her honor? In anxious expectation of what has now happened, I have for years regarded it as the first duty of my royal office to prepare Prussia's military resources for a powerful manifestation. And no Prussian can fail to view, as I do, with confidence and satisfaction the military forces which now protect our boundaries. With their king at their head the Prussian people feel themselves, in truth, a nation in arms. Our enemies are deceived when they imagine that Prussia is paralyzed by internal discord. Over against the enemy the nation is a single powerful unit. In the face of the enemy all differences disappear and we stand united, whether it be for good or evil fortune.

I have done all that I could to spare Prussia the burden and sacrifices of a war: my people know this; God, who searches all hearts, knows it. Up to the last moment I have, in combination with France, England, and Russia, sought and kept open the way for a peaceful settlement. Austria, however, was averse to this, and other German states have openly taken their place at her side.

Let it be so. The fault is not mine should my people have hard battles to fight and mayhap heavy burdens to bear. No alternative is any longer left us. We must fight for our very existence. We must engage in a life-and-death struggle with those who would cast down the Prussia of the Great Elector, of Frederick the Great; the Prussia which emerged victorious from the War of Liberation, from the position to which the skill and strength of her princes and the bravery, devotion, and character of her people have raised her.

Let us petition Almighty God, the director of the history of nations, the disposer of battles, to bless our arms. Should he grant us the victory, we shall then be strong enough to renew, in a firmer and more beneficent manner, the bonds which have so loosely bound the German lands together, in name rather than in fact, and which have now been torn asunder by those who fear the right and might of the national spirit.

May God be with us.

WILLIAM.

BERLIN, June 18, 1866.

Count Bismarck was able to write to his wife on July 9, three days after the great and decisive victory of Prussia at Königgrätz, as follows:

HOHENMAUTH, Monday, July 9.

486. Bismarck writes to his wife about the battle of Königgrätz.

. . . It goes well with us — at least, if we are not excessive in our demands and do not think that we have conquered the world, we shall achieve a peace that is worth while. But we are as easily elated as we are cast down, and I have the thankless task of pouring water into the intoxicating wine, and making it plain that we do not live alone in Europe but with three neighbors.

The Austrians have taken a stand in Moravia, and we are at present so rash as to propose that to-morrow our headquarters shall be on the spot they now occupy. Prisoners are still coming in, and one hundred and eighty cannon

have arrived since the 3d. If they bring on their southern army, we shall, with God's gracious aid, beat that, too. Confidence is everywhere. Our soldiers are dears [*Unsere Leute sind zum Küssen*], — every one of them so heroic, quiet, obedient, and decent, though with empty stomachs, wet clothes, wet camp, little sleep, and no soles to their shoes! They are friendly to all, with no plundering or burning, but paying what they can, and eating moldy bread. There must be a goodly stock of fear of God among our common men, otherwise things could not be as they are. It is hard to get news of acquaintances; we are scattered miles apart, and do not know where to send, and have no one to send. There are men enough, of course, but no horses. . . .

Conduct of William in the battle.

The king exposed himself a great deal on the 3d, and it was a good thing that I was with him, for the warnings of others did not influence him, and no one else would have dared to talk to him as I did the last time, — and it did the job, — when a knot of ten cuirassiers and fifteen horses of the sixth cuirassier regiment were trampling about us in bloody confusion and the shells buzzed around disagreeably near his Majesty. The worst of them happily did not go off. I should, however, rather have had him too venturesome than to have him show himself overprudent. He was delighted with his troops, and with good reason, so that he did not seem to notice the whizzing and din about him. He was as composed as if he were on the Kreuzberg, and kept finding a new battalion to thank and say good-night to, until we were nearly within the firing line again. But so much was said to him of his recklessness that he will be more careful in the future, so your mind may be at rest on that score. I can hardly believe yet that the battle has really taken place. . . .

Bismarck's fears that the king and his advisers would be intoxicated by the brilliant victory over Austria and would wish to press on, and perhaps lose much in the end, were justified. He tells in his memoirs how, although outvoted in the council, he had his own way after all.

487. How Bismarck held Prussia in check after the victory of Königgrätz.

On July 23, under the presidency of the king, a council of war was held, in which the question to be decided was whether we should make peace under the conditions offered or continue the war. A painful illness from which I was suffering made it necessary that the council should be held in my room. On this occasion I was the only civilian in uniform. I declared it to be my conviction that peace must be concluded on the Austrian terms, but remained alone in my opinion; the king supported the military majority.

My nerves could not stand the strain which had been put upon them day and night; I got up in silence, walked into my adjoining bedchamber, and was there overcome by a violent paroxysm of tears. Meanwhile I heard the council dispersing in the next room. I thereupon set to work to commit to paper the reasons which, in my opinion, spoke for the conclusion of peace, and begged the king, in the event of his not accepting the advice for which I was responsible, to relieve me of my functions if the war were continued.

Hazard of continuing the war.

I set out with this document on the following day to explain it by word of mouth. In the antechamber I found two colonels with a report on the spread of cholera among their troops, barely half of whom were fit for service. These alarming figures confirmed my resolve to make the acceptance of the Austrian terms a cabinet question. Besides my political anxieties, I feared that by transferring operations to Hungary, the nature of that country, which was well known to me, would soon make the disease overwhelming. The climate, especially in August, is dangerous; there is great lack of water; the country villages are widely distributed, each with many square miles of open fields attached; and, finally, plums and melons grow there in abundance. Our campaign of 1792 in Champagne was in my mind as a warning example; on that occasion it was not the French but dysentery which caused our retreat. Armed with my documents I unfolded to the king the political and military reasons which opposed the continuation of the war.

We had to avoid wounding Austria too severely; we had to avoid leaving behind in her any unnecessary bitterness of

feeling or desire for revenge; we ought rather to reserve the possibility of becoming friends again with our adversary of the moment, and in any case to regard the Austrian state as a piece on the European chessboard and the renewal of friendly relations as a move open to us. If Austria were severely injured, she would become the ally of France and of every other opponent of ours; she would even sacrifice her anti-Russian interests for the sake of revenge on Prussia.

Bismarck's reasons for treating Austria leniently

On the other hand, I could not see any guarantee for us in the future of the countries constituting the Austrian monarchy, in case the latter were split up by risings of the Hungarians and Slavs or made permanently dependent on those peoples. What would be substituted for that portion of Europe which the Austrian state had hitherto occupied from Tyrol to Bukowina? Fresh formations on this surface could only be of a permanently revolutionary nature. German Austria we could neither wholly nor partly make use of. The acquisition of provinces like Austrian Silesia and portions of Bohemia could not strengthen the Prussian state; it would not lead to an amalgamation of German Austria with Prussia, and Vienna could not be governed from Berlin as a mere dependency.

Prussia has nothing to gain from destroying the Austrian power.

. . . To all this the king raised no objection, but declared the actual terms as inadequate, without however definitely formulating his own demands. Only so much was clear, that his claims had grown considerably since July 4. He said that the chief culprit could not be allowed to escape unpunished, and that, justice once satisfied, we could let the misled backsliders off more easily; and he insisted on the cessions of territory from Austria which I have already mentioned.

I replied that we were not there to sit in judgment, but to pursue the German policy. Austria's conflict and rivalry with us was no more culpable than ours with her; our task was the establishment or foundation of German national unity under the leadership of the king of Prussia.

Passing on to the German states, the king spoke of various acquisitions by cutting down the territories of all our

Bismarck's prudent moderation.

opponents. I repeated that we were not there to administer retributive justice, but to pursue a policy; that I wished to avoid in the German federation of the future the sight of mutilated territories, whose princes and peoples might very easily (such is human weakness) retain a lively wish to recover their former possessions by means of foreign aid.

After the close of the short war between Prussia and Austria, a constitutional convention was summoned to draw up a plan of federation for Prussia and her neighbors north of the river Main. The constitution of the North German Federation was the result. The Assembly did its work so well that when, four years later, the southern states, Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, came into the union after the war with France, the constitution did not have to be materially altered, and still remains that of the present German empire. Sybel, the distinguished historian, was a member of the Assembly in 1867, and well describes in a speech the peculiar difficulties of devising a union which should meet at once the demands of Prussia (a European power) and those of the various German monarchs, who had long regarded themselves as sovereigns and were fearful of being made the subjects of the king of Prussia.

488. Three forces provided for in the German federation.

Gentlemen, we must now take up what is obviously the most important and characteristic part of our task. Now that we have sketched out in general the powers which the proposed federal government is to enjoy, we must reach a decision in regard to the organization of the union, — perhaps the most difficult question that any statesman has faced during the course of the century, — namely, the formation of a practicable and enduring central authority for Germany, strong enough to fulfill the various functions which devolve upon a modern state, and yet so far limited

that the German princes and the individual states will not feel that they have been completely subordinated and mediatized. The central government must also be so far dependent upon the parliament that the political sentiments of the nation at large shall not be violated. Surely no task could be more difficult than ours. . . .

Neither a constitutional monarchy feasible nor a federation as commonly conceived.

The plan of a federation now before us, whatever may be its nature, is in no way a constitutional monarchy, nor is it a federation according to the traditional theories which have been developed in the universities. . . . Indeed, those who have drawn up the plan have unmistakably struck into a path diametrically opposed to that which has been hitherto followed in Germany. They have not taken a treatise upon political theory, I care not how good it may be, and copied out the features of a constitutional state as they are described therein; they have not, after arranging their plan, divided and distorted the real forces in our country in order to fit them into it. On the contrary, they have searched out in the long-standing chaos of German conditions the actually existing forces; they have endeavored to give them a legal basis and a form adjusted to the strength and importance of each; they have supplied each with its proper organ, and defined its scope and activity.

The forces to be considered were, as every one here well knows, the strong, victorious Prussia, whose traditions of a glorious past, whose present might, and, above all, whose future power combine to render her far too big to be fitted into that academic federation of the Göttingen professors. [*Laughter.*] In the situation of Europe at the present moment she necessarily enjoys in some respects a dictatorial power. Then, on the other hand, there are the other German states, who in the war against Prussia certainly won no laurels. Even those who were her allies were thrown sadly into the shade by the gigantic increase of Prussia's power. Yet, in spite of their relation with Prussia, the various German states have exhibited marked vitality and in some instances enjoy a strong support from outside. Moreover, — and that weighed most heavily, — in spite of the efforts of

the cultivated class toward unity, the individual states each retains the very real sympathy of its own people on its own soil.

Thirdly and lastly, there was liberal public opinion, — in Prussia, in Germany, in Europe. In Prussia, indeed, it seemed that public opinion had been worsted in the unsuccessful opposition to Bismarck's ministry and had been forced to give up many of its positions. Yet in spite of this, by and large, and in the whole range of European relations, this public opinion has grown stronger and stronger, until not even the strongest of military monarchies can permanently resist the attacks of this spiritual power. . . .

It was necessary, then, to reckon with these three forces, — (1) with the military demands of the great Prussian state, (2) with the various individual German states, the demands of which were supported by local sentiment, and (3) with the strength of public opinion. The draft of the constitution, as it lies before us, provides for an organ for each of these forces: to Prussia — to the crown of Prussia — is assigned the presidency of the federation; to the smaller states, the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*); to public opinion, the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*).[1]

V. The Franco–Prussian War

Bismarck describes in his memoirs the way in which he precipitated what he believed to be an unavoidable war with France. The Prussian king was at Ems, a well-known watering place, when the French ambassador, Benedetti, approached him and demanded that the king should pledge himself never to permit the Hohenzollern prince to become a candidate again for the Spanish throne.[2] This William refused to do, and as

[1] For an account of the peculiarities of the present German federation, especially of the Federal Council, which is a species of *corporate monarch*, in whom the sovereignty is vested, *not in the emperor*, see my pamphlet, *The German Bundesrath*, Philadelphia, 1891.

[2] See *History of Western Europe*, p. 662, note (Vol. II, p. 310, note).

his patience was worn out by the importunities of the French ministry, he sent word to Benedetti that he would not see him again. He telegraphed the news of this to Bismarck, with permission to publish it in the newspapers if he wished. Upon the receipt of the message, Bismarck says:

489. How Bismarck cut down the Ems telegram so as to assure war with France.

All considerations, conscious and unconscious, strengthened my opinion that war could only be avoided at the cost of the honor of Prussia and of the national confidence in her. Under this conviction I made use of the royal authorization communicated to me through Abeken to publish the contents of the telegram; and in the presence of my two guests [General Moltke and General Roon] I reduced the telegram by striking out words, but without adding or altering anything, to the following form:

Ems dispatch as published by Bismarck.

"After the news of the renunciation of the hereditary prince of Hohenzollern had been officially communicated to the imperial government of France by the royal government of Spain, the French ambassador at Ems made the further demand of his Majesty the king that he should authorize him to telegraph to Paris that his Majesty the king bound himself for all future time never again to give his consent if the Hohenzollerns should renew their candidature. His Majesty the king thereupon decided not to receive the French ambassador again, and sent to tell him, through the aid-de-camp on duty, that his Majesty had nothing further to communicate to the ambassador."

The difference in the effect of the abbreviated text of the Ems telegram as compared with that produced by the original was not the result of stronger words, but of the form, which made this announcement appear decisive, while Abeken's version would only have been regarded as a fragment of a negotiation still pending and to be continued at Berlin.

After I had read out the concentrated edition to my two guests, Moltke remarked: "Now it has a different ring; in its original form it sounded like a parley; now it is like a

flourish in answer to a challenge." I went on to explain: "If, in execution of his Majesty's order, I at once communicate this text, which contains no alteration in or addition to the telegram, not only to the newspapers, but also by telegraph to all our embassies, it will be known in Paris before midnight, and not only on account of its contents, but also on account of the manner of its distribution, will have the effect of a red rag upon the Gallic bull.

"Fight we must if we do not want to act the part of the vanquished without a battle. Success, however, depends essentially upon the impression which the origination of the war makes upon us and others; it is important that we should be the ones attacked, and the Gallic insolence and touchiness will bring about this result if we announce in the face of Europe, so far as we can without the speaking tube of the Reichstag, that we fearlessly meet the public threats of France."

This explanation brought about in the two generals a revulsion to a more joyous mood, the liveliness of which surprised me. They had suddenly recovered their pleasure in eating and drinking and spoke in a more cheerful vein. Roon said, "Our God of old still lives, and will not let us perish in disgrace." Moltke so far relinquished his passive equanimity that, glancing up joyously toward the ceiling and abandoning his usual punctiliousness of speech, he smote his hand upon his breast and said, "If I may but live to lead our armies in such a war, then the devil may come directly afterwards and fetch away the old carcass."

Bismarck, in a letter to his wife written immediately after the battle of Sedan, describes the capture of Napoleon III.

VENDRESS, September 3, 1870.

Day before yesterday before daybreak I left my quarters here; to-day I am returning, and have in the meantime experienced the great battle of Sedan on the 1st; in which we made towards thirty thousand prisoners and forced back

490. Bismarck describes the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan.

the rest of the French army (which we have been pursuing all the way from Bar-le-Duc) into the fortress, where they must surrender themselves along with the emperor. Yesterday at five o'clock in the morning, after I had been discussing until one o'clock in the morning with Moltke and the French generals the terms of the capitulation, General Reille, whom I know, awoke me to tell me that Napoleon wished to speak with me.

I rode, without washing and with no breakfast, towards Sedan, and found the emperor in an open carriage with three officers of high rank and three others on horseback on the highroad near Sedan. I dismounted, greeted him as politely as if we were in the Tuileries, and asked what were his Majesty's commands. He wished to see the king. I told him, as was the truth, that his Majesty had his quarters three miles from there, at the place where I am now writing. On Napoleon's asking whither he should go, I offered him, since I was unfamiliar with the region, my quarters at Donchéry, a little place in the neighborhood close to Sedan. He accepted my invitation, and, accompanied by his six Frenchmen, myself, and Karl,[1] who had in the meantime followed me, drove, in the silence of the morning, toward our forces.

Before we reached the place he began to be apprehensive lest he might encounter a number of people, and he asked me whether he could not get out at a lonely laborer's cottage on the road. I had the place inspected by Karl, who reported that it was miserable and dirty. "*N'importe*," said Napoleon; and I ascended with him a narrow, rickety stairway. In a room ten feet square, with a deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs, we sat an hour, while the others remained below, — a singular contrast to our last interview in '67 in the Tuileries.

Our negotiations were difficult, unless I consented to touch upon matters which could not but be painful to one who had been so cast down by God's mighty hand. I had summoned

[1] Bismarck's son.

officers, through Karl, from the town and had asked Moltke to come. We then sent out one of the former to reconnoiter, and discovered, half a mile away, in Fresnois, a little villa with grounds.

Thither I accompanied the emperor, with an escort from the king's cuirassier regiment, which had been called up in the meantime; and there we concluded, with the French general Wimpffen, the capitulation, according to which forty to sixty thousand French, — I cannot be more accurate at this time, — with all that they had, became our prisoners. Day before yesterday and yesterday cost France one hundred thousand men and an emperor. This morning the latter started with all the members of his court, his horses and carriages, for Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel.

This has been an event of vast historic importance, — a victory for which we must thank the Lord in humbleness of heart. It decides the conflict, although we must still carry on the war against an emperorless France. . . .

Good-by, my sweetheart. Love to the children.

Your v. B.

The republic was declared in France on September 4, 1870. Jules Favre, the minister of foreign affairs under the new provisional government, two days later issued a remarkable circular to the French diplomatic agents abroad, explaining the situation in France.

491. The French minister of foreign affairs on the downfall of the second empire (September 6, 1870).

Sir, the events which have just taken place in Paris are so well explained by the inexorable logic of facts that it is needless to dwell upon their meaning and bearing. In ceding to an irresistible impulse which had been but too long restrained, the population of Paris has obeyed a necessity superior to that of its own safety. It did not wish to perish with the criminal government which was leading France to her ruin. It has not pronounced the deposition of Napoleon III and of his dynasty; it has simply registered it in the name of right, justice, and public safety; and the sentence was so completely ratified beforehand by the public conscience that

no one, even among the most noisy defenders of the power that was falling, raised a voice to uphold it. It collapsed of itself under the weight of its faults and amid the acclamations of the entire nation, without a single drop of blood being shed, without one individual being deprived of his personal liberty.

. . . Rescued from the shame and the danger of a government which has proved a traitor to all its duties, every one now comprehends that the first act of national sovereignty, reconquered at last, must be one of self-control, — the seeking for strength by respecting right. Moreover no time must be lost; our enemies are at our very gates; we have but one thought, — their expulsion from our territory.

But this obligation, which we resolutely accept, we did not impose upon France. She would not have been in her present position if she had listened to our voice. We have energetically defended the policy of peace even at the cost of our popularity. We still maintain the same opinion. We are heartbroken at the sight of these human butcheries consuming the youth of two nations, whom a little good sense and a great deal of liberty would have preserved from such frightful catastrophes. We cannot find any adequate expression of our admiration for our heroic army, sacrificed through the incapacity of its supreme commander, but showing itself greater in defeat than in the most brilliant victory. . . .

I would explain our position in a few words and submit my statement to the judgment of my country and of Europe. We loudly condemned the war, and, while proclaiming our respect for the rights of nations, we asked that Germany should be left mistress of her own destinies. We wished that liberty should be at the same time our common bond and our common protection. We were convinced that these moral forces would forever insure peace. But we claimed arms for all citizens and the right to elect our leaders. Had this been conceded, we should have remained invincible on our own soil. The government of the emperor, which had long since divorced its interests from those of the

country, opposed that policy. We revert to it with the hope that, taught by experience, France will have the wisdom to put it into practice.

The king of Prussia has declared that he made war not against France but against the imperial dynasty. The dynasty has fallen. France is free. Does the king of Prussia wish to continue an unholy struggle, which will be at least as fatal to him as to us? Does he wish to give to the nineteenth century the cruel spectacle of two nations destroying one another, and, forgetful of humanity, reason, and culture, heaping corpse upon corpse, and ruin upon ruin? He is free to assume this responsibility in the face of the world and of history.

If it is a challenge, we accept it. We will cede neither an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses. A disgraceful peace would mean a war of extermination at an early date. We will treat only for a permanent peace. In this respect our interest is that of the whole of Europe, and we have reason to hope that, divested of all dynastic considerations, the question will thus present itself to the cabinets of Europe. But even should we stand alone, we shall not yield. We have a resolute army, well-provisioned fortresses, a strong cordon of troops, and, above all, the hearts of three hundred thousand combatants determined to hold out to the bitter end.

The official account of the reëstablishment of the German empire appeared in Berlin, January 24, 1871.

492. How the German empire was proclaimed in Versailles (January 24, 1871).

In the palace of Louis XIV, in that ancient center of a hostile power which for centuries has striven to divide and humiliate Germany, the solemn proclamation of the German empire was made on January 18, exactly one hundred and seventy years after the assumption of the royal dignity by the Prussian sovereigns at Königsberg. Though the German people, owing to the necessities of the times, were represented at the ceremony only by the German army, the eyes of the entire nation were gratefully turned to the

place where, surrounded by sovereigns, generals, and soldiers, King William announced to the world the assumption by himself and his heirs of a title for the reëstablishment of which we have been yearning during the sixty long years it has been in abeyance.

As yet the infatuation of the enemy does not permit us to throw aside the weapons we have taken up in self-defense; and as our unity arose out of the first part of the campaign, so will our empire be strengthened by the remaining feats of arms. By the self-sacrificing devotion of all classes of society, the nation has proved that it still possesses that warlike prowess which distinguished our ancestors. It has recovered its ancient position in Europe; and, neither fearing an adversary nor envying any neighbor, discreet and temperate in its acts and aims, it accepts the destiny prophesied for it in the proclamation of its new emperor. This destiny is to add to its power not by conquest but by promoting culture, liberty, and civilization. As far as the German people are concerned, there will be no more wars in Europe after the determination of the present campaign. . . .

Ceremony at Versailles.

Owing to the unfavorable weather the festive procession which was to conduct his Majesty from the prefecture to the palace did not take place. The crown prince, with Lieutenant-General Blumenthal, his chief of staff, and an escort of Prussians, Würtembergers, Badeners, and Bavarians, drove to the palace to receive his royal father at the eastern portal in front of the Princes' Stairway. In the courtyard of the palace a company of the king's own troops was drawn up as a guard of honor. . . .

At a quarter past twelve his Majesty entered the hall, when a choir consisting of men of the Seventh, Forty-Seventh, and Fifty-Eighth regiments intoned the choral, "Let all the world rejoice in the Lord." . . . When the choir ceased, the congregation sang one verse of the choral, "Praise and honor unto the Lord." The ordinary military liturgy was then read by the clergymen and a sermon preached by the Reverend A. Rogge. Alluding to the well-known inscription on the ceiling of the hall, "*Le roi governe*

par lui-même," the preacher observed that the kings of Prussia had risen to greatness by adopting a different and more religious motto, namely, "The kings of the earth reign under me, saith the Lord." The *Te Deum Laudamus* closed the service.

The king then walked up to where the colors were displayed, and, standing before them, read the document proclaiming the reëstablishment of the German empire. Count Bismarck having read the king's proclamation to the German nation, the grand duke of Baden stepped forth and exclaimed, "Long live his Majesty the emperor!" The cheers of the assembly were taken up by the bands playing the national anthem.

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Revolt against Metternich's System: ANDREWS, Vol. I, Chapters IX–X, pp. 363–448; PHILLIPS, Chapter XI, pp. 232–254; Chapters XII–XIII, pp. 273–331; SEIGNOBOS, Chapter XIII, pp. 401–423.

Napoleon III and Italian Unity: ANDREWS, Vol. II, Chapter III, pp. 91–145; SEIGNOBOS, Chapter XI, pp. 336–359; PHILLIPS, Chapter XV, pp. 361–389.

Bismarck and the North German Federation: SEIGNOBOS, Chapter XV, pp. 456–476; ANDREWS, Vol. II, Chapters V–VI, pp. 188–260.

Completion of German Unity: ANDREWS, Vol. II, Chapter VI, pp. 261–277; PHILLIPS, Chapter XVIII, pp. 449–485; SEIGNOBOS, Chapter XV, pp. 476–484.

The Third French Republic: SEIGNOBOS, Chapter VII, pp. 187–204; ANDREWS, Vol. II, Chapter IX, pp. 343–355.

The Eastern Question: ANDREWS, Vol. II, Chapter VIII, pp. 297–342; SEIGNOBOS, Chapters XX–XXI, pp. 616–670; PHILLIPS, Chapter XIX, pp. 491–523.

B. Additional reading in English.

There are at least two satisfactory political histories of the nineteenth century, — those of Andrews and of Seignobos, mentioned above. The English translation of Seignobos is edited by Professor MacVane and is supplied with extensive and discriminating bibliographies at the close of each chapter. Somewhat briefer and rather journalistic is Müller, *History of Recent Times*, giving especial attention to Germany, 1816–1875. Very recent political developments are treated by Professor Andrews in his volume on *Contemporaneous Europe*, the last in the great set, "The History of all Nations," published by Lea Brothers. In due time Vols. X–XII of the *Cambridge Modern History* will appear, and will, it is to be hoped, give a broad view of the general progress of the century.

These general accounts may be supplemented by the following:

Anderson, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1901*, 1904.

Malleson, *Life of Prince Metternich.*

Munroe Smith, *Bismarck and German Unity.* Excellent short account.

Sybel, *Founding of the German Empire*, Vol. I. Gives an excellent review of German history following 1815.

Bismarck, *The Man and the Statesman*, 2 vols. Being reflections and reminiscences written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office.

Busch, *Our Chancellor.* Interesting impressions of Bismarck by his secretary.

Thayer, William R., *Dawn of Italian Independence*, 2 vols. Scholarly and interesting account up to the revolution of 1848.

Countess Cesaresco, *Liberation of Italy.* This and Stillman, *The Union of Italy, 1815–1895*, are exceptionally good accounts by writers who have lived long in Italy.

Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, Vol. I has appeared, 1903.

Coubertin, *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic.*

Traill, *Social England*, Vol. VI.

McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, 4 vols.

Holland, *European Concert in the Eastern Question.*

Lowell, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols. Very important.

C. Materials for advanced study.

Bulle, *Geschichte der neuesten Zeit*, 2d ed., 4 vols., 1886–1887. A very careful work by one familiar with public questions in Germany. Perhaps the best general account of the political history of the nineteenth century.

DEBIDOUR, *Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe*, 2 vols., 1814–1891, and his *Histoire des rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1870*, 1898.

HERTSLET, *Map of Europe by Treaty since 1814*, 4 vols.

STEIN, L., *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich*, 1850. Best treatment of the social side of the revolution of 1848.

PIERRE DE LA GORCE, *Histoire du second empire*, 7 vols., 1896–1905.

BULLE, *Geschichte des zweiten Kaiserreichs und des Königreichs Italien* (Oncken Series).

TREITSCHKE, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 5 vols., 1886–1895. Comes down to 1848. By an able, well-informed writer, but very Prussian and very subjective.

ONCKEN, *Zeitalter des Kaiser Wilhelm*, 2 vols., 1890–1892.

BLUM, *Das deutsche Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks*, 1893. Comes down to 1890. By an intimate friend of Bismarck's.

LEGER, *History of Austro-Hungary*, from the French, 1889, and KRONES, *Grundriss der österreichischen Geschichte*, 1882; also his *Geschichte der Neuzeit Österreichs*, 1879.

Allgemeine deutsche Biographie, 40 vols. This admirable biographical dictionary furnishes exact information in regard to persons of political importance.

REUCHLIN, *Geschichte Italiens*, 4 vols., 1859–1873. Careful but unreadable.

ENGELHARDT, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat: histoire des réformes depuis 1826*, 2 vols., 1882–1883.

Sources.

There are several convenient annual publications which sum up the history year by year and often give the texts of important documents. *The Annual Register* has been appearing in England since 1758. For France, *Annuaire historique universel*, 1818–1860, and *L'Année politique*, since 1874; SCHULTHESS, *Geschichts-Kalender*, since 1860. The *British and Foreign State Papers* (annual since 1829) furnish important material for the history of Europe since the year 1812.

The voluminous reports of the proceedings in the various parliaments constitute an unwieldy but indispensable source for the political history.

[Titles of works on various phases of contemporary history and conditions will be found at the close of the following chapter.]

CHAPTER XLI

EUROPE OF TO-DAY

I. Development of Natural Science

Whewell, in his *History of the Inductive Sciences*, thus characterizes the attitude of a great part of the mediæval thinkers towards science

493. Contrast between the mediæval and the modern attitude toward natural science.

We have already stated that real scientific progress requires distinct general ideas applied to many special and certain facts. In the period of which we now have to speak, namely, the mediæval, men's ideas were obscured; their disposition to bring their general views into accordance with facts was enfeebled. They were thus led to employ themselves unprofitably among indistinct and unreal notions; and the evil of these tendencies was further inflamed by moral peculiarities in the character of those times, — by an abjectness of thought, on the one hand, which could not help looking towards some intellectual superior; and by an impatience of dissent, on the other.[1] . . .

The fact that mere collections of the opinions of physical philosophers came to hold a prominent place in literature, already indicated a tendency to an indistinct and wandering apprehension of such opinions. . . . Even Aristotle himself is much in the habit of enumerating the opinions of those who have preceded him. To present such statements as an important part of physical philosophy shows an erroneous and loose apprehension of its nature. . . . Such diversities of opinion convey no truth; such a multiplicity of statements of what has been *said* in no degree

[1] This latter tendency has by no means disappeared (see below, p. 605).

teaches us what *is;* such accumulations of indistinct notions, however vast and varied, do not make up one distinct idea.[1]

. . . But the indistinctness of thought which is so fatal a feature in the intellect of the stationary period may be traced more directly in the works even of the best authors of those times. . . . Thus, if men had any distinct idea of mechanical action, they could not have accepted for a moment the fable of the Echeneis, or Remora, a little fish which was said to be able to stop a large ship by merely sticking to it. . . . Pliny relates the tale gravely and moralizes upon it after his manner.[2] "What," he cries, "is more violent than the sea and the winds? What greater work of art than a ship? Yet one little fish (the Echeneis) can hold back all these when they all strain the same way. The winds may blow, the waves may rage; but this small creature controls their fury, and stops a vessel, when chains and anchors would not hold it: and this it does not by hard labor but by merely adhering to it. Alas for human vanity, when the turreted ships which man has built, that he may fight from castle walls at sea as well as on land, are held captive and motionless by a fish a foot and a half long! Such a fish is said to have stopped the admiral's ship at the battle of Actium, and compelled Anthony to go into another. And in our own memory one of these animals held fast the ship of Caius, the emperor, when he was sailing from Astura to Antium. The stopping of this ship when all the rest of the fleet went on caused surprise; but this did not last long, for some of the men jumped into the water to look for the fish, and found it sticking to the rudder. They showed it to Caius, who was indignant that this animal should interpose its prohibition to his progress, when impelled by four hundred rowers. It was like a slug, and had no power after it was taken into the ship."

[1] It must be remembered that Roger Bacon had, in the thirteenth century, protested against this attitude towards science. See *History of Western Europe*, p. 273 (Vol. I, p. 273), and *Readings*, Vol. I, pp. 460 *sq*

[2] Pliny's *Natural History*, Bk. XXXII, Chapter 5.

A very little advance in the power of thinking clearly on the force which it exerted in pulling, would have enabled the Romans to see that the ship and its rowers must pull the adhering fish by the hold of the oars upon the water; and that, except the fish had a hold equally strong on some external body, it could not resist this force.[1]

While Roger Bacon had, in the thirteenth century, forecast the methods of modern science, it remained for Francis Bacon, some three centuries later, clearly to enunciate its principles in his famous *Novum Organum*, which he dedicated to James I. In it he harshly criticises the mediæval attitude toward natural science.

494. Francis Bacon proclaims the principles of modern scientific progress.

The discoveries which have hitherto been made in the sciences are such as lie close to vulgar notions, scarcely beneath the surface. In order to penetrate into the inner and further recesses of nature, it is necessary that both notions

[1] Lactantius, a Christian writer of Constantine's time, like Pliny much read in the Middle Ages, well illustrates the confusion of thought of which Whewell speaks. He is discussing the idea advanced by the philosophers that there may be men living on the opposite side of the globe. "How can there be any one so absurd as to think that men can have their feet higher than their heads; or that in those parts of the earth instead of resting on the ground things hang down; crops and trees grow downward; rain, snow, and hail fall upward on to the earth? Who indeed can wonder at the hanging gardens which are reckoned as one of the seven wonders when the philosophers would have us believe in hanging fields and cities, seas and mountains? . . .

"If you ask those who maintain these monstrous notions why everything does not fall off into the heavens on that side, they reply that it is of the nature of things that all objects having weight are borne toward the center, and that everything is connected with the center, like the spokes of a wheel; while light things, like clouds, smoke, and fire, are borne away from the center and seek the heavens. I scarce know what to say of such fellows, who when once they have wandered from truth persevere in their foolishness and defend their absurdities by new absurdities. Sometimes I imagine that their philosophizing is all a joke, or that they know the truth well enough and only defend these lies in a perverse attempt to exhibit and exercise their wit." — *Divinae Institutiones*, Lib. iii, sect. 24, Corp. Scrip. Eccl. Lat., XIX, pp. 254 *sq.*

and axioms be derived from things by a more sure and guarded way, and that a method of intellectual operation be introduced altogether better and more certain. . . .

There is no soundness in our notions, whether logical or physical. Substance, quality, action, passion, essence itself are not sound notions; much less are heavy, light, dense, rare, moist, dry, generation, corruption, attraction, repulsion, element, matter, form, and the like; but all are fantastical and ill-defined. . . .

There are and can be only two ways of searching into and discovering truth. The one flies from the senses and particulars to the most general axioms, and from these principles, the truth of which it takes for settled and immovable, proceeds to judgment and the discovery of middle axioms. And this way is now in fashion. The other derives axioms from the senses and particulars, rising by a gradual and unbroken ascent, so that it arrives at the most general axioms last of all. This is the true way, but as yet untried. . . .

Religious opposition to science.

It is not to be forgotten that in every age natural philosophy has had a troublesome adversary and hard to deal with, — namely, superstition and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion. For we see among the Greeks that those who first proposed to man's uninitiated ears the natural causes for thunder and for storms were thereupon found guilty of impiety. Nor was much more forbearance shown by some of the ancient fathers of the Christian Church to those who, on most convincing grounds (such as no one in his senses would now think of contradicting), maintained that the earth was round and, of consequence, asserted the existence of the antipodes.[1]

Influence of the scholastic philosophers.

Moreover, as things now are, to discourse of nature is made harder and more perilous by the summaries and systems of the schoolmen; who, having reduced theology into regular order as well as they were able, and fashioned it into the shape of an art, ended in incorporating the

[1] See extract from Lactantius given above, p. 601, note.

contentious and thorny philosophy of Aristotle, more than was fit, with the body of religion. . . .

No conflict between science and religion.

Lastly, some are weakly afraid lest a deeper search into nature should transgress the permitted limits of sober-mindedness; wrongfully wresting and transferring what is said in Holy Writ against those who pry into sacred mysteries to the hidden things of nature, which are barred by no prohibition. Others, with more subtlety, surmise and reflect that if secondary causes are unknown everything can be more readily referred to the divine hand and rod, — a point in which they think religion greatly concerned; which is, in fact, nothing else but to seek to gratify God with a lie. Others fear from past example that movements and changes in philosophy will end in assaults on religion; and others again appear apprehensive that in the investigation of nature something may be found to subvert, or at least shake, the authority of religion, especially with the unlearned.

But these two last fears seem to me to savor utterly of carnal wisdom; as if men in the recesses and secret thoughts of their hearts doubted and distrusted the strength of religion, and the empire of faith over the senses, and therefore feared that the investigation of truth in nature might be dangerous to them. But if the matter be truly considered, natural philosophy is, after the word of God, at once the surest medicine against superstition and the most approved nourishment for faith; and therefore she is rightly given to religion as her most faithful handmaid, since the one displays the will of God, the other his power. . . .

Universities opposed to scientific advance

. . . Again, in the customs and institutions of schools, academies, colleges, and similar bodies destined for the abode of learned men and the cultivation of learning, everything is found adverse to the progress of science. For the lectures and exercises there are so ordered that to think or speculate on anything out of the common way can hardly occur to any man. And if one or two have the boldness to use any liberty of judgment, they must undertake the task all by themselves; they can have no

advantage from the company of others. And if they can endure this also, they will find their industry and largeness of mind no slight hindrance to their fortune. For the studies of men in these places are confined and, as it were, imprisoned in the writings of certain authors, from whom, if any man dissent, he is straightway arraigned as a turbulent person and an innovator. . . . In matters of state, change even for the better is distrusted, because it unsettles what is established; these things resting on authority, consent, fame, and opinion, not on demonstration; but arts and sciences should be like mines where the noise of new works and further advances is heard on every side. . . . No one has yet been found so firm of mind and purpose as resolutely to compel himself to sweep away all theories and common notions and to apply the understanding, thus made fair and even, to a fresh examination of particulars. Thus it happens that human knowledge, as we have it, is a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of the childish notions which we at first imbibed.

Great hopes of experimental science.

Now if any one of ripe age, unimpaired senses, and well-purged mind apply himself anew to experience and particulars, better hopes may be entertained of that man. In which point I promised to myself a like fortune to that of Alexander the Great, [who, according to Titus Livius,] "had done no more than take courage to despise vain apprehensions." And a like judgment I suppose may be passed on myself in future ages: that I did no great things, but simply made less account of things that were counted great. In the meanwhile, as I have already said, there is no hope except in a new birth of science; that is, in raising it regularly up from experience and building it afresh; which no one, I think, will say has yet been done or thought of.

The natural suspicion which is always aroused by new scientific discoveries and theories apparently in conflict with accepted ideas is well indicated by the

reception, a generation or so ago, of Darwin's remarkable investigations.

495. How Darwin's works were received by conservative persons. (From Andrew D. White's *Warfare of Science and Theology.*)

Darwin's *Origin of Species* had come into the theological world like a plow into an ant-hill. Everywhere those thus rudely awakened from their old comfort and repose had swarmed forth angry and confused. Reviews, sermons, books light and heavy, came flying at the new thinker from all sides. . . .

One distinguished clerical reviewer, in spite of Darwin's thirty years of quiet labor, and in spite of the powerful summing up of his book, prefaced a diatribe by saying that Darwin "might have been more modest had he given some slight reason for dissenting from the views generally entertained." Another distinguished clergyman, vice president of a Protestant institute to combat "dangerous" science, declared Darwinism "an attempt to dethrone God." Another critic spoke of persons accepting the Darwinian views as "under the frenzied inspiration of the inhaler of mephitic gas," and of Darwin's argument as "a jungle of fanciful assumption." Another spoke of Darwin's views as suggesting that "God is dead," and declared that Darwin's work "does open violence to everything which the Creator himself has told us in the Scriptures of the methods and results of his work." . . .

In France the attack was even more violent. [A French prelate wrote:] "These infamous doctrines have for their only support the most abject passions. Their father is pride, their mother impurity, their offspring revolutions; they come from hell and return thither, taking with them the gross creatures who blush not to proclaim and accept them." . . .

[Pope Pius IX, acknowledging the gift of a supposed refutation of Darwin's theory of evolution, said:] "A system which is repugnant at once to history, to the traditions of all peoples, to exact science, to observed facts, and even to reason herself, would seem to need no refutation, did not alienation from God and the leaning toward materialism due to depravity eagerly seek a support in all this

tissue of fables. . . . And, in fact, pride, after rejecting the Creator of all things and proclaiming man independent, wishing him to be his own king, his own priest, and his own God, — pride goes so far as to degrade man himself to the level of the unreasoning brutes, perhaps even of lifeless matter, thus unconsciously confirming the divine declaration, 'When pride cometh, then cometh shame.' But the corruption of this age, the machinations of the perverse, the danger of the simple, demand that such fancies, altogether absurd though they are, should — since they borrow the mask of science — be refuted by true science."

The truly astonishing advances in natural science which antedate the French Revolution, and upon which the discoveries of the nineteenth century were based, are thus summed up by a brilliant French writer.

496. The scientific advance in the eighteenth century. (Adapted from Taine.)

In pure mathematics we have infinitesimal calculus, discovered simultaneously by Leibnitz and Newton; in astronomy, the series of calculations and observations which, from Newton to Laplace, transforms science into a problem of mechanics, explains and predicts the movements of the planets and of their satellites, indicates the origin and formation of our solar system, and, extending beyond this through the discoveries of Herschel, affords an insight into the distribution of the stellar archipelagoes and of the grand outlines of celestial architecture.

Inorganic sciences.

In physics we have the decomposition of light and the principles of optics discovered by Newton, the velocity of sound, the form of its undulations, the primary laws of the radiation of heat, the experiments by which Du Fay, Franklin, and especially Coulomb explain, manipulate, and for the first time utilize, electricity. In chemistry the chief foundations of the science were laid: isolation of oxygen, nitrogen, and hydrogen, the composition of water, the theory of combustion, chemical nomenclature, quantitative analysis, the indestructibility of matter, — in short, the discoveries of Scheele, Priestley, Cavendish, Lavoisier.

In geology we have the verification and results of Newton's theory, the exact form of the earth, the laws of the tides, the primitive fluidity of the planet, the aqueous and igneous origin of rocks, the structure of the beds of fossils, the repeated and prolonged submersion of continents, the slow growth of animal and vegetable deposits, the vast antiquity of life, the gradual transformation of the earth's surface, and, finally, the grand picture in which Buffon describes approximately the entire history of our globe from the time it formed a mass of glowing lava down to the time when our own species, after so many lost or surviving ones, was able to inhabit it.

Organic sciences.

Upon this science of inorganic matter we see arising at the same time the science of organic matter. Linnæus invents botanical nomenclature and the first satisfactory classifications of plants. Digestion is explained by Réaumur and Spallanzani, respiration by Lavoisier. Scientists penetrate to the lowest stages of animal life. Lyonnet devotes twenty years to portraying a species of caterpillar. Needham reveals his infusoria. Buffon, and above all Lamarck, in their great but incomplete sketches, outline with penetrating divination the leading features of modern physiology and zoölogy. Organic molecules everywhere diffused, which multiply and combine with one another through blind and spontaneous development, without either foreign direction or any preconceived end, solely through the effects of their structure and surroundings, unite together and form those masterly organisms which we call plants and animals. In the beginning we have the simplest forms, followed by slowly developing, complex, and perfected organisms, — all indicated, by conjecture and approximation, the cellular theory of later physiologists and the conclusions of Darwin. In the picture of nature which the human mind now portrays, the science of the eighteenth century has drawn the general outline, and indicated the perspective and the general masses so correctly that at the present day all its main features remain intact. Except a few partial changes, there is nothing to efface.

II. Applied Science

While Bacon, Newton, and Laplace were engaged, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in profound scientific research, practical inventors, like Newcomen, Arkwright, Crompton, Watt, and Cartwright, were availing themselves, often unconsciously, of the great principles of natural law. The result was a series of mechanical devices which were later greatly increased and perfected through the aid of science, and which have served to revolutionize industry and commerce and fundamentally to alter social and political conditions. The central economic facts of this revolution have been the increase in man's productive powers and the vast improvement in the means of transportation.

497. Efficiency of modern industrial methods. (From C. A. Beard's *The Industrial Revolution.*)

Human progress depends on the ability of mankind to do more work and to accomplish greater tasks; to supply the necessaries of life with less expenditure of time and strength and thus to secure leisure for thought, invention, and artistic development of every kind.

To show the expansion of trade following the new inventions it is necessary to give a few statistics. When machinery was introduced into the textile industries the output of manufactured goods increased by leaps and bounds. In 1764 the cotton imported into England amounted to about 4,000,000 pounds; in 1841 it had increased to nearly 500,000,000 pounds. In 1792 the amount of cotton imported into Lancashire alone from the United States was 138,000 pounds; in 1800 it was 18,000,000 pounds. The wool imported into England in 1766 was only about 2,000,000 pounds; in 1830 the amount had risen to more than 32,000,000 pounds. In 1788 the iron output was 61,000 tons; in 1839 it was over 1,250,000 tons. One hundred years after Crompton invented his spinning mule there were in Lancashire 2655 cotton mills running a total of nearly

38,000,000 spindles and 463,000 power looms; in the twenty-two years from 1793 to 1815 English exports, according to official valuation, rose from £17,000,000 annually to £58,000,000, in spite of the depression caused by the Napoleonic wars.

These figures give an inkling of the industrial transformation which followed the great inventions. Now let us turn to the real increase in the productive capacity of the individual. In other words, let us see whether productive capacity has grown more rapidly than the population. Unfortunately, careful compilations of statistics are only of recent date, but we know that Hargreaves' jenny worked only eight spindles. The number was gradually increased to one hundred and twenty, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century to two hundred. The jenny now has more than a thousand spindles, each revolving at the rate of ten thousand revolutions per minute. A man and two boys can tend two thousand spindles.

The hand-loom weaver used to make from sixty to eighty throws of the shuttle per minute. Fifty years ago the best power loom made only one hundred throws; to-day the highest-grade loom runs at the rate of about four hundred per minute, and along with the increase of the productive capacity of the machine there is a decrease in the amount of human labor required in the operations. Formerly one weaver tended but one loom; now one worker tends from two to ten looms according to the grade of goods. So great has been the increase in the efficiency of textile machinery that a single operative can supply two hundred and fifty persons with the necessary cotton garments, or three hundred persons with woolen clothing.

In every branch of industry attention has been devoted to increasing productive power, until almost marvelous results have been attained. In the continuation of the construction of the Cologne cathedral in 1870, two men with a steam crane lifted as much stone in a day as three hundred and sixty men could have done in the same time in the Middle Ages The old craftsman produced at best

a couple of pairs of shoes per day; the modern worker with machinery can turn out five hundred pairs a day. In one year six English workmen can produce enough bread to supply a thousand people for the same length of time. This includes all the labor from the breaking up of the soil to the delivery of the bread to the consumer.

The extent to which mechanical power can be substituted for hand labor depends upon the ability of man to contrive machinery. Here is the material key to man's spiritual progress. The plowing of a furrow, the sowing of the seed, the reaping of the grain, its transportation from one market to another, the weaving of a fabric, and the making of a coat, all represent in the final analysis the application of so much power to matter. The past achievements of inventors have shown us that there are no limits to the ways in which the exhaustless forces of nature can be applied to do man's work. If we look back, we see man struggling to maintain life by sheer strength of muscle; but if we look forward along the centuries of the future, we see the struggle for existence taking only a small portion of man's energy, leaving all the remainder of his powers of heart and brain free for the enlargement and enriching of life.

498. Improvements in methods of transportation. (From Wells' *Economic Changes.*)

The result of the construction and use of compound engines in economizing coal has been illustrated by Sir Lyon Playfair, by the statement that "a small cake of coal which would pass through a ring the size of a shilling, when burned in the compound engine of a modern steamboat, would drive a ton of food and its proportion of the ship two miles on its way from a foreign port." Another calculator, says the London *Engineer*, "has computed that half a sheet of note paper will develop sufficient power, when burned in connection with a triple expansion engine, to carry a ton a mile in an Atlantic steamer." How, under such circumstances, the charge for sea freights on articles of comparatively high value has been reduced, is shown by the fact that the ocean transport of fresh meat from New York to Liverpool does not exceed one cent per pound. . . .

Transportation on land.

Great, however, as has been the revolution in respect to economy and efficiency in the carrying trade upon the ocean, the revolution in the carrying trade on land during the same period has been even greater and more remarkable. Taking the American railroads in general as representative of the railroad system of the world, the average charge for moving one ton of freight per mile has been reduced from about two and one-half cents in 1869 to about a cent in 1887. To grasp fully the meaning and significance of these figures, their method of presentation may be varied by saying that two thousand pounds of coal, iron, wheat, cotton, or other commodities can now be carried on the best-managed railways for a distance of one mile for a sum so small that, outside of China, it would be difficult to find a coin of equivalent value to give to a boy as a reward for carrying an ounce package across the street, even if a man or boy could be found in Europe or the United States willing either to give or accept so small a compensation for such a service.

499. Economic effects of the revolution in the means of communication. (From *The United States of America*, edited by Professor Shaler.)

The history of this industrial movement would embrace, directly or indirectly, an account of all that chiefly distinguished the nineteenth century from the eighteenth, the old régime from the new. It would include an account of the origin and rise of the factory system of industry, replacing the home work or the small and scattered workshops of the old time by the aggregation of men and machinery at industrial centers. It would be much concerned with the discovery and perfection of the steam engine, the mighty prime mover in these changes, and after that with the discovery and development of its chief modes of application to the spindle, the weaving frame, the forge, the printing press, the mill, and innumerable other instruments of production; to the railway, the steamship, and other means of transportation and communication.

Aggregation of industries in cities.

But only in its origin is the revolution exclusively industrial, and in the next stage are seen its immediate effects upon human life, of which perhaps the most important

spring from the aggregation of industries, and consequently of men, in cities, accompanied by a relative diminution of the number of tillers of the soil, and the separation of producers into two distinct classes, — the capitalists, or organizing and directing class, and the manual laborers. A mind subtle enough might trace a third and more remote series of effects to the same causes. The thought of our time, whether taking the form of literature, science, the fine arts, or political discussion, is evidently molded in great measure by the spectacle of the industrial revolution and of the phenomena induced by it.

Economic revolution caused by improved transportation.

None of these changes are more characteristic or more indispensable to the state of society that we now see around us than those in the methods of moving men and things from one place to another, and of communication between men in places distant from one another. The change in industrial organization involves, above all, a greater dependence of each class of men upon other classes, and therefore the necessity for more frequent interchange of goods. The manufacturing class, formerly to a great degree scattered over the country as small handicraftsmen, have now separated entirely from the agricultural class and gathered in factories in the great towns. Therefore the products of the loom, the mill, and the forge, which formerly, if not actually produced upon the farmer's premises, were to be had near at hand, must now be brought from the more distant towns, and the farm products exchanged for them must traverse the same distance.

One need only visit Mount Vernon to see an illustration of this change. George Washington lived upon his estate, surrounded by small handicraftsmen, and, as regards the commoner needs of daily life, almost entirely independent of transportation. Not only did he raise the foodstuffs for his own consumption and that of his numerous dependents, but blacksmiths, shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters were found among the slaves upon his plantation, and cloth for the coarser sort of garments was spun and woven in his household. Nowadays country gentlemen usually live near

a railroad station, and have their supplies sent out every week, or oftener, from the nearest large town, perhaps a hundred miles away.

Still more important to the study of transportation than this withdrawal of the manufacturing classes into towns is the specialization of manufactures by districts, — what has been called the territorial division of labor. The principle that one can accomplish most by concentrating his energies on the thing that he is best fitted to do, has in our time been applied to places as well as to persons. Massachusetts has districts whose people are almost wholly occupied with shoemaking, and others where they are equally engrossed in cotton spinning. Pittsburg and the surrounding country is, roughly speaking, a vast iron furnace, Dakota a wheat field, and so on.

Applied science is by no means confined to the invention of machinery and the facilitating of travel and intercommunication. Science has revolutionized our ideas of animal and plant life and of the treatment of maladies. By means of the most delicately adjusted microscopes it has become possible to discover and study the minute plants known as bacteria, some of which are not over a hundred and fifty thousandth of an inch in diameter.

The study of the life histories of these diminutive plants excites the wonder of those who make observations upon them. It is truly marvelous to know that these bacteria can accomplish, in their short lives of possibly a few hours or days, feats which would baffle the cleverest of chemists if given years of a lifetime to work upon. They give to the farmer the good quality of his crops, to the dairyman superior butter and cheese; they assist in large measure in freeing our rivers and lakes from harmful pollutions. Here it should be strongly emphasized that those bacteria which cause disease are only a few species, all others contributing to our welfare in countless ways.

500. The beneficent bacteria. (From Dr. William Osler.)

Quite as astonishing is the discovery that within the root knobs of peas and beans live bacteria which, by splitting up mineral salts containing nitrogen and by absorbing nitrogen from the air, give it over to the plant, so that it is enabled to grow luxuriantly, whereas without their presence the tiller of the soil might fertilize the ground in vain. It is quite possible that not alone peas and beans but all grasses and plants and trees depend upon the presence of such germs for their very existence, which in turn supply man and animals with their means of existence. Hence we see that these nitrifying bacteria, as they are called, if swept out of existence, would be the cause of cessation of all life upon the globe.

The astonishing effects of scientific discovery in promoting the highly practical art of surgery are well described by Dr. Keen in the following passage.

501. Modern surgery. (From Dr. W. W. Keen.)

Great theologians, such as a Calvin or a Jonathan Edwards, were they recalled to life, could discourse as learnedly as ever of predestination and free will; great forensic orators, such as a Burke or a Webster, could convince us by the same arguments and arouse us by the same invectives that made our fathers willing captives to their silver tongues. But to-day, so rapid has been our surgical progress that a Velpeau, a Sir William Ferguson, or a Pancoast, all of whom have died within the last thirty years, could not teach modern surgical principles nor perform a modern surgical operation. Even our everyday surgical vocabulary — staphylococcus, streptococcus, infection, immunity, antisepsis and asepsis, toxin and antitoxin — would be unintelligible jargon to him; and our modern operations on the brain, the chest, the abdomen, and the pelvis would make him wonder whether we had all lost our senses, until, seeing the almost uniform and almost painless recoveries, he would thank God for the magnificent progress of the last half century, which had vouchsafed such magical — nay, almost divine — power to the modern surgeon.

III. Political and Social Democracy

The chief political question of the nineteenth century in all the states of western Europe has been the same, — namely, whether the king should continue to rule in the more or less absolute manner in which he had controlled the government in the previous century, or whether the people should be regarded as the sovereign and rule through their deputies. Everywhere, consequently, though with certain local differences, we find the following four great parties representing four different views of this fundamental question.

502. The chief party issues in western Europe during the nineteenth century. (From Seignobos.)

1. The absolutist conservative party, formed by the high officials and landed aristocracy, desired to maintain absolute government, the authority of the Church, and the censorship of the press; it controlled all the central, eastern, and southern states of Europe. It no longer existed in England, for the former absolutist party, the Jacobites, had not survived the century of political liberty.

The constitutional party, or right center.

2. The liberal conservative, or constitutional party, sometimes called the Tory, or right center, composed of the upper middle class and the liberal officeholders, demanded that the assembly should control the administration of the government, particularly in financial matters. Its ideal was personal government by the sovereign, with a parliament of two houses, one aristocratic, the other elective. It believed that the electoral body should be limited by a considerable property qualification, and that the parliament should vote the annual budget and leave the prince free in the choice of his ministers and in the direction of general policy. There should be no censorship of the press, but liberty should be restricted to the wealthy classes; the nation's rights should be guaranteed by a constitution. This party was in power in the states which had constitutions; in the absolute monarchies it demanded a constitution, a representative assembly, and the abolition of censorship.

The parliamentary party, or left center.

3. The parliamentary liberal party, sometimes called the Whig, or left center, recruited from the middle class, demanded not only control by the elective assembly but its supremacy over the sovereign, his ministers, and the aristocratic chamber. Its ideal was the parliamentary system, a ministry chosen from the party in majority in the lower house, governing in the prince's name, but according to the will of the elected representatives of the nation. It demanded a constitution which recognized the superior rights or sovereignty of the people, political liberties (such as liberty of the press, holding public meetings, and forming associations), and absolute religious liberty. . . . It would admit only property owners to vote, but tended to lower the qualifications for the franchise in order to include in the voting body the lower middle class.

The radical democratic party.

4. The democratic, or radical party, formed by students, workingmen, writers, and lawyers, demanded, according to the motto of the French Revolution, the sovereignty and political equality of the people. It added to the demands of the parliamentary party universal suffrage, remuneration of representatives, abolition of all political privileges of the wealthy classes, and separation of church and state. Its ideal was a purely representative, democratic, and preferably republican government like that of the French Convention, or even a direct government by the people, in which they should themselves make the constitution. In 1815 this party, so far from being in power in any country, had not even the right to formulate its programme publicly, except in England, Sweden, and Norway.

The two extreme parties, absolutist and democratic, held diametrically opposite conceptions of government and society. The absolutists wanted a society based on hereditary inequality. . . . They also demanded an established religion. The democrats admitted neither political, hereditary, nor ecclesiastical authority.

A country might, however, pass from one of these extremes to the other gradually, for the four parties formed a continuous gradation. The absolutist system became

constitutional when the prince consented to grant a constitution, as in the south German states in 1816 to 1819. The constitutional system was insensibly transformed into the parliamentary system as the sovereign took more account of the wishes of the elective chamber, as in England after 1830. The parliamentary system became democratic with the extension of the suffrage and the assembly's acquisition of supremacy over all the other powers, as in Switzerland.

With the revolution of 1848 in France a new party, working for economic as well as political changes, made its appearance, as we have seen.[1] This movement was the outgrowth of the great industrial changes of the preceding half century. The efforts of its adherents were commonly directed towards some socialistic reorganization of society which should secure to the workingman a more generous share of the products of his labor than he could receive under the capitalistic system which had grown up. Of the many programmes of reform which have been drawn up by the labor leaders, the following, formulated at a great labor congress at Gotha in 1875, will serve as a statement of their chief economic doctrines.

503. The socialist programme issued at Gotha (1875)

1. Labor is the source of all wealth, and of all civilization; and since it is only through society that generally productive labor is possible, the whole product of labor, where there is a general obligation to work, belongs to society, — that is, to all its members, by equal right, to each according to his reasonable needs.

In the society of to-day the means of production are a monopoly of the capitalistic class; the dependence of the working classes which results from this is the cause of misery and of servitude in all its forms.

[1] See above, p. 560.

The emancipation of labor requires the conversion of the means of production into the common property of society and the social regulation of all labor and its application for the general good, together with the just distribution of the product of labor.

The emancipation of labor must be the work of the laboring class itself, opposed to which all other classes are reactionary groups.

2. Proceeding from these principles, the socialist labor party of Germany endeavors by every lawful means to bring about a free state and a socialistic society, to effect the destruction of the iron law of wages by doing away with the system of wage labor, to abolish exploitation of every kind, and to extinguish all social and political inequality.

International nature of the socialist movement.

The socialist labor party of Germany, although for the time being confining its activity within national bounds, is fully conscious of the international character of the labor movement, and is resolved to meet all the obligations which this lays upon the laborer, in order to bring the brotherhood of all mankind to a full realization.

The socialist labor party of Germany, in order to prepare the way for the solution of the social question, demands the establishment of socialistic productive associations with the support of the state and under the democratic control of the working people. These productive associations, for both industry and agriculture, are to be created to such an extent that the socialistic organization of all labor may result therefrom.

Immediate reforms demanded by the socialists.

[In addition to the demand for universal suffrage for all above twenty years of age, secret ballot, freedom of the press, free and compulsory education, etc.,] the socialist labor party of Germany demands the following reforms in the present social organization: (1) the greatest possible extension of political rights and freedom in the sense of the above-mentioned demands; (2) a single progressive income tax, both state and local, instead of all the existing taxes, especially the indirect ones, which weigh heavily upon the people; (3) unlimited right of association; (4) a

normal working day corresponding with the needs of society, and the prohibition of work on Sunday; (5) prohibition of child labor and all forms of labor by women which are dangerous to health or morality; (6) laws for the protection of the life and health of workmen, sanitary control of workmen's houses, inspection of mines, factories, workshops, and domestic industries by officials chosen by the workmen themselves, and an effective system of enforcement of the same; (7) regulation of prison labor.

A more vigorous denunciation of the present social organization is to be found in the Erfurt programme of October, 1891.

504. Extract from the Erfurt programme of the socialists (October, 1891).

The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably to the ruin of small industries, which are based upon the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from these means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

Criticism of the existing capitalistic organization of society.

Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the destruction of these scattered small industries by industries of colossal growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalist and great landowners. To the proletariat and to the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasants, it brings an increasing uncertainty of existence, increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation, and exploitation.

Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariat, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between *bourgeoisie* and proletariat which divides modern society into two hostile camps and is the common characteristic of every industrial country.

IV. Imperialism

An English writer thus briefly indicates the present extent of the colonies of the several European powers.

505. Present extent of European colonies. (From J. A. Hobson.)

Since 1884 some three and three-quarter millions of square miles have been added to the British empire. Nor does Great Britain stand alone in this enterprise. The leading characteristic of modern imperialism, the competition of rival empires, is the product of this same period. The close of the Franco-German war marks the beginning of a new colonial policy in France and Germany, destined to take effect in the next decade.

Small extent of German colonies.

It was not unnatural that the newly founded German empire, surrounded by powerful enemies and doubtful allies, and perceiving its more adventurous youth drawn into the United States and other foreign lands, should form the idea of a colonial empire. During the seventies a vigorous literature sprang up in advocacy of the policy, which took shape a little later in the powerful hands of Bismarck. The earliest instance of official aid for the promotion of German commerce abroad occurred in 1880. But the definite advance of Germany upon its imperialistic career began in 1884 with a policy of African protectorates and annexations of oceanic islands. During the next fifteen years she brought under her colonial sway about a million square miles, with an estimated population of fourteen millions. Almost the whole of this territory is tropical, and the white population forms a total of a few thousands.

French colonies.

Similarly in France a great revival of the old colonial spirit took place in the early eighties. The extension of empire in the Senegal and Sahara in 1880 was followed next year by the annexation of Tunis, and France was soon actively engaged in the scramble for Africa in 1884, while at the same time she was fastening her rule upon Tonquin and Laos in Asia. Her acquisitions since 1880 (exclusive of the extension of New Caledonia and its dependencies) amount to an area of over three and one-half million square

miles, with a native population of some thirty-seven million; almost the whole territory is tropical or subtropical, inhabited by lower races, and incapable of colonization.

Italian colonization.

Italian aspirations took similar shape from 1880 onwards, though the disastrous experience of the Abyssinian expedition has given a check to Italian imperialism. Her possessions in East Africa are confined to the northern colony of Eritrea and the protectorate of Somaliland.

Of the other European states two only, Portugal and Belgium, enter directly into the competition of the new imperialism. Spain may be said to have definitely retired from imperial competition. The large and important possessions of Holland in the East and West Indies, though involving her in imperial politics in some degree, belong to older colonialism; she takes no part in the new expansion.

Russia

Russia, the only active expansionist country of the north, stands alone in the character of her imperial growth, which differs from other imperialism in that it has been principally Asiatic in its achievements and has proceeded, by direct extension of imperial boundaries, partaking to a larger extent than in the other cases of a regular colonial policy of settlement for purposes of agriculture and industry.

The United States.

The recent entrance of the powerful and progressive nation of the United States of America upon imperialism by the annexation of Hawaii and the taking over of the relics of the ancient Spanish empire, not only adds a new formidable competitor for trade and territory, but changes and complicates the issues. As the focus of political attention and activity shifts more to the Pacific states and the commercial aspirations of America are more and more set upon trade with the Pacific islands and the Asiatic coast, the same forces which are driving European states along the path of territorial expansion seem likely to act upon the United States, leading her to a virtual abandonment of the principle of American isolation which has hitherto dominated her policy.

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